



Daily Report

East Europe

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**CEMA's Sychev Attends Moscow Exhibition
Sychev Interviewed**

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[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 23 June carries on pages 1 and 5 a 1,200-word report by RABOTNICHESKO DELO Moscow correspondent Dimitur Gornenski, dispatched on 22 June and entitled: "A Wonderful Show Window of New, Socialist Bulgaria," describing his interview with Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary, at the Bulgarian National Exhibition in Moscow.

Gornenski reports that the exhibition "Bulgaria Today and Tomorrow" was recently visited by a "group of high-ranking CEMA secretariat functionaries and representatives of CEMA permanent delegations stationed in Moscow." On this occasion, he interviewed Vyacheslav Sychev on his impressions about the exhibition.

Sychev praises Bulgaria's performance and the "interesting exhibits," pointing out the country's successes in modern electronic equipment production, chemical and microbiological industry.

Sychev also adds a flattering remark about Bulgarian consumer goods, adding that he would like to "dwell in particular on these products, since the improvement of the people's living standard, the ever increasing satisfaction of their material and cultural needs is a strategic goal of socialist production in all countries belonging to the socialist community." He praises Bulgaria's concentration on "social tasks" in CEMA cooperation, which is one of the community's current targets.

Sychev further mentions Bulgarian agricultural and food industry products, stressing that the country has earned a "well-deserved prestige" in this branch.

The interview ends with Sychev wishing the Bulgarian people success in their further development, and pointing out as follows: "We sincerely rejoice at the fact that Bulgaria, throughout the period of socialism and with the joint efforts of all its generations, was transformed into a highly developed industrial-agrarian state."

CSSR's Hanus, Sychev Talk

AU2906111389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK correspondent's report: "About Czechoslovakia's Share in CEMA"]

[Text] Moscow—Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, met

with CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev in CEMA's headquarters in Moscow on Monday [26 June].

The two representatives assessed a number of issues arising from international socialist economic integration. They paid exceptional attention to CSSR's participation in the realization of the programs and projects adopted by the CEMA member states, and the share of Czechoslovak experts in this activity.

F. Hanus briefed V. Sychev on the conclusions of the recent CPCZ Central Committee plenum.

CSSR Trade With CEMA Countries Reported

AU2406130789 Prague CTK in English
1255 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's foreign trade with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states amounts to 195,000 million crowns annually.

Last year, when the exchange of goods with these states increased by 2.4 percent, a favourable change in trade balance was achieved with Czechoslovak exports exceeding imports by more than 4,000 million crowns. In 1987, exports were lower by 1,000 million crowns and in 1986 even by 5,500 million crowns.

Totally, Czechoslovak exports to the CMEA countries increased by 5.1 percent last year, while imports were practically stagnating, having dropped by 0.3 percent. This was caused mainly by the favourable development of foreign prices of Czechoslovak exported goods, and a drop in prices of oil imported from the Soviet Union.

The share of the CMEA countries in the total Czechoslovak foreign trade lowered from 75.4 to 74.6 percent. The planned tasks in exports in this sphere were not fulfilled only in the heavy engineering and health production, which was compensated for by products from the chemical and consumer industries, agriculture and the building industry.

The Soviet Union continues to be Czechoslovakia's biggest trade partner. The exchange of goods exceeded 109,000 million crowns last year. Compared with 1987, it dropped by 0.8 percent. Trade with Poland, which is now the second biggest partner of Czechoslovakia followed by the GDR, develops most dynamically, the total turnover increased by 12 percent. In trade with other CMEA member states, with the exception of Romania, Czechoslovakia's exports prevailed over imports.

Academician Interviewed on Kosovo 'Nightmare'
AU2806134389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
23 Jun 89 p 3-4

["An Atmosphere of Genocide With Dire Consequences for the Albanian People of Kosovo—Interview Given to the Sarajevo Paper OSLOBODJENJE by the Kosovo Academician Rexhep Qosja, Published on 18 June Under the Title 'Europe, Balkan Style'"]

[Text] Question: Your recent meeting in Pristina with the delegation of the European Parliament provoked different reactions among the public in our country.

Answer: The meeting did indeed provoke different reactions, and they were unfortunately more malicious than kind. It is quite amazing that people should react in such a way to a meeting of Albanian intellectuals with such a representative delegation as that of the European Parliament, which came here at the invitation of the SFRY Assembly and whose members had been promised by their hosts that they could "talk freely with whoever they wanted." What is even more amazing is that these malicious reactions have been led by Serbian intellectuals, even by professors at Belgrade University, doctors of philosophy, and academicians. However, there is nothing you can do. A number of Serbian intellectuals have been not only supporting but instigating the repressive policies against the Albanians and the Albanian intellectuals. They know how to protest against repressive measures in China, but not in Kosovo. They know how to protest against the arrest of Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia, but not against the so-called isolation of Albanian intellectuals. They know how to defend their freedom of communication with the world, but refuse to admit such freedom for Albanian intellectuals. They wish to draw closer to Europe, but to decide our fate in Balkan fashion, using Balkan means and methods.

Question: While respecting the right of a free citizen to democratic discussion, but also for the sake of objective information for the public, may we ask you to tell us what most interested the parliamentarians, and what you told them?

Answer: The members of the delegation of the European Parliament were interested in the same topic that they discussed with Kosovo officials, the situation in Kosovo. We tried to present our viewpoint on this situation and on the Albanians' position today.

Question: Considering that an agreement was reached for a meeting with you and other intellectuals on the following day, why did this meeting take place in a hotel room, in an atmosphere encumbered by protocol and without the presence of any officials of our country?

Answer: You had better ask the Kosovo officials about that, especially Vukasin Jokanovic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, who was host to the European parliamentarians in Kosovo. After meeting the members of the

delegation, I realized that the Kosovo officials, under various pretexts, were at pains to prevent the delegation from meeting us, and for this reason they were compelled to invite us to a meeting themselves. I personally regret that I was unable to be present in the office of the rector of Pristina University, where the delegation of the European Parliament met the intellectual bureaucracy, and where I would have said, in full view of everybody, more than I said in the hotel room about the position of the Albanians today, which was only a small part of what I have already written and published on this subject. I feel that the mere fact of the Kosovo officials' refusal to allow the delegation of the European Parliament to meet those Albanian intellectuals they wished to meet, says more about the position of the Albanians today than anything I have said myself.

Question: The commotion over the approval of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has still not subsided. What worries people in Kosovo most about this Constitution?

Answer: The changes to the Constitution claimed from the Albanians a part of history that they have lived through. The Albanians are the only people in Yugoslavia whose rights have been curtailed by changes in the Constitution and are the only people who have been pushed back by constitutional, judicial, and political measures. The Constitution has now been changed. I respect the duty of a citizen to behave in accordance with the laws that stem from the Constitution. However, as a democrat, for whom the Albanian national cause is a democratic issue, I also wish to say that I am convinced that the Serbian leadership has made a mistake in curtailing the constitutional position of Kosovo. First, from a historical viewpoint, the Serbian leadership has made a mistake in carrying out the constitutional changes in Kosovo with the use of force and tanks. The Serbian leadership is persisting in its error by keeping the Albanians under political and state pressure. Unfortunately, this will leave deep traces for several generations.

The present Serbian politicians seem to forget that the Serbs are numerically the largest nation, that they are the dominant people, and that they decided our destiny for 8 decades; for this reason, from both a historical and moral viewpoint, they should be sensitive to us and should have more understanding of our national feelings. Unfortunately, and it is highly unfortunate, current Serbian policy seeks the future of Serbia in its past. This conclusion does not arise from the fact that, at a time when man is exploring the far reaches of outer space, the relics of Tsar Lazar are being carried through Serbia, nor from the fact that the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo is being transformed into a politicized spectacle, nor from the fact that the Orthodox Church has become an important political adviser on policy in Kosovo. This conclusion stems from the preference of Serbian policy for the pacification of Kosovo through the Army and the police, as in days long past. For more than 8 years now, we have not heard a single good word about ourselves,

not a single opinion that indicates respect for us. We have not noticed a single initiative to bring us closer together, no hand of friendship has every been stretched out to us, and not the slightest desire for equal dialogue has been expressed. Goodwill can accomplish much more than verbal terror or political and state repression. Albanian cultural tradition preserves the idea that a kind word wins a friend and a harsh word merely loses one, and Serbian policy today is simply alienating us. The Serbian politicians seem to have forgotten that Albanians and Serbs have lived together in this area for centuries, that they have respected and honored each other for most of this time, that they have supported and given shelter to each other at the most difficult times of history, and that they have found life's meaning in unity and not persecution. The social awareness of our ancestors was always of a higher moral quality than it is today.

Question: As an intellectual, a creative artist, a teacher, and an academician, as an Albanian, do you feel you are a second-class citizen in Kosovo?

Answer: It is not hard to see that the majority of Albanians, especially in Kosovo and Macedonia, feel like Kafka's Joseph, always waiting for someone to fetch them, because most Albanians today live in terror of a knock at the door after 2100. The majority of Albanians go to work in fear, and return home in fear. Think of this, and decide yourself whether this is the feeling of a second- or third-class citizen or worse. After my meeting with the delegation of the European Parliament, many people telephoned me to ask after me, meaning to find out whether I was still free. After this interview too, those Albanians who have the chance to read it will ask after me, meaning to ask whether I am still free. Such concern tells more about those who ask than about the person who is asked. The Albanians today feel they are citizens whose fate is decided by others, not citizens who can in any way shape their own destiny. For practical purposes, the political will of the Albanians has now been extinguished, because Albanian political representatives have no willpower any more. People outside Kosovo appoint them or dismiss them, as if they were anonymous.

Do I feel myself to be a second-class citizen? I cannot feel any different from the people to whom I belong. I have often said that Albanian intellectuals must try to express themselves as freely as other intellectuals in Yugoslavia. If other intellectuals can bravely speak their minds, without self-censorship, on many social and political issues, and can present their viewpoints on the past and present of Kosovo, without self-censorship, why cannot we also speak out publicly and without self-censorship? However, I am convinced a hundred times over that different criteria are applied to us. We tried to present our ideas about the reality of Kosovo more or less freely at the meeting of Serbian and Albanian writers in Belgrade in May last year, where we discussed the topic of "Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia today." However, we were soon persuaded that neither the authorities nor

any of the Serbian intellectuals were prepared to allow us this freedom. I ask you: If Dobrica Cosic or Predrag Palavestro, Slobodan Selenic, or Nikola Milosevic were to meet the delegation of the European Parliament, not in a hotel room where there are ears, but in their homes, would anybody in Serbia call them what they called two Albanian intellectuals after they met the delegation—"destroyers of Yugoslavia?" Would there be so much commotion about such a meeting, or would there be threats such as were made against us?

Question: Disagreements over the situation in Kosovo are obvious and nobody is hiding them, or is able to do so. In your view, how can these disagreements be overcome?

Answer: Do you know what Dobrica Cosic said at the symposium organized by KNJIZEVNE NOVINE on the 70th anniversary of the creation of the Yugoslav state? He said that "The Albanians are corrupting the ethnic composition and state of Yugoslavia." Are Macedonia and a part of Montenegro, besides Kosovo, threatened by and because of the Albanians? According to Cosic's logic, Montenegro, with 500,000-600,000 Montenegrins, is in peril from 30,000 Albanians, who are migrating to the United States in ever-increasing numbers, while Yugoslavia, with 21 million Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Muslims, Macedonians, and so forth, is in peril from about 2.5 million Albanians.

Let us set aside the lessons of history, from which we can learn that the Albanians have never at any time in their history been able to threaten anybody, that their fate has been to be continually on the defense, a suffering people struggling for bare existence, a poor and often oppressed people. Let us set aside all these painful facts and ask: How can any people, without any mechanism of the state at their disposal, without the force that goes by the name of the state to stand behind them, endanger another people who are supported by all these things? Has not Dobrica Cosic abandoned the standard of truth here, and fallen into the mire of propaganda?

Question: You are a signatory of the appeal of the 215 Albanian intellectuals from Kosovo. What do you now think about this appeal, after all the official assessments and views expressed about it at provincial and republican level?

Answer: As one of its signatories and instigators, I think that the appeal you mention was a normal kind of petition, signed and sent by intellectuals who were forced by the political situation to write appeals instead of memoranda. However, the political authorities exploited this appeal to further fence in the Albanian intellectuals, and to force them to forget everything they had written in the appeal, forbidding them to open their mouths to say anything without the approval of these authorities. Serbian intellectuals have written memoranda, followed by draft constitutions, and a large number of petitions. They then put forward a large number of proposals

offering new visions of Yugoslavia which entirely altered the constitutional order or denied the identity of certain peoples, yet nobody touched a hair on their heads. The academician Antonije Isakovic is one of the principal authors of the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy, but he still holds a leading position as deputy chairman of this same Academy. Following the appeal of the 215 Albanian intellectuals, its signatories have been denounced by the party and expelled from its ranks; they have been suspended from work, and dismissed from their posts as dean, prodean, or editor. The political response to the appeal shows that political repressions, campaigns against people, and exposure and humiliation, because of a democratic expression of opinion are, whether undertaken consciously or not, to the detriment of everybody, including those who initiate these things. There is no doubt that the campaign against the signatories of the appeal has been very counterproductive for Kosovo culture and life.

Question: What kind of solution do you envisage for the problem of Kosovo, within the framework of Serbia and Yugoslavia?

Answer: First of all, a solution to the problem of Kosovo must be sought in the development of Kosovo. Economic backwardness, unemployment, and low living standards have brought many disasters to Kosovo. Second, a solution to the Kosovo problem must be found, in my view, by achieving a balance in interethnic relations, that is, by achieving equilibrium in the rights of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

We know from the natural sciences that a universal harmony exists in nature, which relies on an equilibrium of forces and on nature's laws. We know from history that the most stable societies are those in which their parts are held in balance. Imbalance in rights, freedoms, and collective and individual equality gives rise to discontent and misunderstanding. The policy of the founders of federal Yugoslavia aimed at the best possible equilibrium in interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, but this equilibrium has been severely upset today. Demands to eliminate the principle of equality are in essence a denial of some elements of the federation, while the retrograde constitutional step in Kosovo provides further evidence that shows that the goal is nothing less than to upset this equilibrium. Repression is a way to preserve an artificial form of equilibrium, because real equilibrium relies on democracy, and on national equality on the basis of the free will of all the parts of the whole, not on force and compulsion exerted by one or more parts.

Question: When there is talk about the threat to Yugoslavia from the enemy within, eyes turn first to Kosovo. To what extent do Albanians from Kosovo consider Yugoslavia to be their homeland?

Answer: It is well known that when there is talk in politics about internal and external enemies, citizens have to take cover. The fairy tales about the danger to

Yugoslavia from the Albanians are mere fairy tales. It is obvious to reasonable, objective, and well-intentioned people that the Albanians desire the greatest possible stability and progress for Yugoslavia, because this is in their own interests in every way. The Albanians are not to blame for the current problems of Yugoslav society. However, with the exception of the Slovenes and some of the Croats, the others consider the Albanians as aliens, an undesirable body in the Yugoslav organism. The 8 years of anti-Albanian propaganda are to blame for this. There is an easy answer to the question of how the Albanians view Yugoslavia, where they have been faced with a state of emergency twice in the last 8 years. They view the country as Yugoslav subjects do. However, it is difficult to give an objective and honest answer. An objective answer to this question could be obtained by means of a questionnaire. The truth is that the Albanians now live in a nightmare. They are afraid of politicians, militiamen, soldiers, prosecutors, and judges. They fear for their jobs, their families, their dignity, their security, their future, and their freedom. As a wise politician who presumably did not live in the Balkans once said, a state, in order to enjoy the love of its citizens, must enable its citizens to live without fear.

Question: You teach at the University and are aware of all the developments at this educational institution. How accurate is the assertion that Pristina University is "the separatists' brain" or "a hotbed of nationalism?"

Answer: A few days ago we read in the daily press the political comment that "The activity of the Albanian nationalists continues to be particularly intense in the University, educational institutions, the Kosovo Archive, the Institute of History, the Albanological Institute, and the Albanian-language media." According to this view, all Albanian-language educational, cultural, and academic institutions are politically dubious. What does this mean? It means that all institutions where the Albanian language is spoken behave in a nationalist way. Does not such a comment equate the Albanian national consciousness with nationalism? Are not all the Albanians' cultural, educational, and academic activities thereby declared to be nationalistic? Can Albanian intellectuals speak about their culture, language, folklore, or about Serbo-Albanian relations and not be accused of nationalism? Such an attitude to culture, education, science, and the Albanian intelligentsia has devastating consequences for our cultural development and spiritual integrity. For years, academic, literary, and cultural periodicals in Albanian have been unable to find articles to publish. Albanian creative writers are virtually paralyzed in the fields of science, art, and culture. There is no more cultural communication with the world, nor even cultural communication within the national culture of Yugoslavia itself. This merciless propaganda, which has not even eased since the curtailment of Kosovo's constitutional position, which forces us ever deeper into our cultural ghetto; differentiation, which forces creative artists into internal emigration; continual political suspicions aimed at creating a sense of insecurity; endless

political brutality; the thorough repressions that cause despair—do not all these things create an atmosphere of genocide with dire political, cultural, spiritual, and psychological consequences for the health of the Albanian people?

Question: The migration of the non-Albanian population from Kosovo has long been evident. Two reasons are most commonly mentioned: pressure from the Albanians and economic causes. Which place is better, and why are Albanians not emigrating, but settling in Kosovo?

Answer: Everybody feels ill at ease in Kosovo. Many people would like to live somewhere else. The migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is rightly more strongly felt. However, Albanians are also emigrating and in ever-increasing numbers. Albanians used to come to Kosovo from Macedonia and Montenegro, but they do so no longer. Albanians from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro are now emigrating to distant parts, to Turkey, Western European countries, and the United States. However, nobody keeps count of them, and nobody is interested in the reasons why they emigrate. Nobody will invite the Albanians who are emigrating today from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro to return to their age-old hearths. Why? Because there are a lot of them.

Question: Can one speak of a conflict between the Albanian intelligentsia and official policy?

Answer: In my view, one can speak of a policy in Kosovo whose aim is to exterminate every vestige of intellectual autonomy. Unfortunately, this policy has been quite successful in Kosovo.

Question: Can one speak of a moral crisis and a crisis of confidence?

Answer: The crisis of Yugoslavia is at the same time a moral crisis. When one hears what is said, when one sees what is done, how matters are judged, and what is intended, one realizes that the moral aspect of the crisis is the most serious. God knows how many individuals have taken to the political stage where they are able to decide people's destinies, their future, and even their life or death. Such examples of brutality, anxiety, and moral insensitivity, such threats are voiced on political platforms that they take one's breath away, and one fears for the destiny of individuals and the community. Any connection between politics and morality, between politics and political and moral principles, has been sundered. When politics loses touch with morality, anything is possible, Rexhep Qosja said, concluding the interview.

Zhivkov Speaks at Academy of Social Sciences
AU3006080689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] On 29 June at the Boyana residence, the commencement exercises of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management at the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] took place. "The participants greeted with exceptional cordiality Comrade Todor Zhivkov and other party leaders."

Stanish Bonev, rector of the academy spoke about the 1988-89 academic year.

"Comrade Todor Zhivkov handed the diplomas to the graduates. In his speech our first party and state leader greeted the graduates and lecturers on behalf of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, and on his own behalf, and wished them success in their future activities. Comrade Todor Zhivkov again spoke about the main issues of restructuring, which is being implemented in all areas of social life in Bulgaria.

"Speaking about the present international situation he stressed the principle-minded and peaceful policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, aimed at strengthening peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe, and the world."

Tinka Miteva, valedictorian, thanked for the care and attention shown to the students, and promised that the graduates will work selflessly to put the BCP policy into effect and implement restructuring in Bulgaria.

Further on Speech
AU3006085789 Sofia BTA in English
0651 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 30 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, stated that it is Bulgaria's wish to live in peace, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation with all countries in the Balkans, including Turkey. In his speech delivered before the alumni of the Academy of Social Sciences and Management—122 political and public workers to be—the Bulgarian leader assessed his recent meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev as extremely useful.

Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined the leading role of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the development of the processes of innovation in the countries from the socialist community and pointed out the deep impact restructuring and new political thinking have on international relations.

The traditional meeting of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the BCP with the alumni and the lecturers of the Academy took place here last night. This year the

higher party school with the Central Committee of the BCP, which in 1969 became an Academy of Social Sciences and Management, will celebrate its 40th anniversary.

In his speech Mr Todor Zhivkov said that the restructuring in Bulgaria confirms the viability of Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine, method and ideology. Life confirmed the correctness and efficiency of the concept developed and made concrete at the July Plenum (1987) and the December Plenum (1988) of the Central Committee of the BCP, he said.

Mr Todor Zhivkov also spoke on some problems of the unity of the Bulgarian nation.

Zhivkov Congratulates MSZMP Chairman Nyers
AU2906105189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Jun 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, sent a greeting telegram to Rezo Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], on the occasion of his election to this highranking post. The telegram expresses confidence that cooperation between the two parties, countries, and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen to the benefit of socialism and peace.

Zhivkov Sends 'Get Well' Telegram to Papandreou
AU2906105389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Jun 89 p 1

[Text] To Mr Andreas G. Papandreou, Athens,

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister, dear friend, I was concerned to hear that your state of health has deteriorated.

I most sincerely wish you a prompt recovery and vigorous health, so that you may actively participate in sociopolitical life.

SRV Defense Minister Arrives, Meets Leaders

Welcomed by Dzhurov
AU2806121189 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 27 Jun 89 pp 1, 4

[Captain Ivan Genov report: "In a Warm Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] A Vietnamese military delegation led by Army General Le Duc Anh, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense of the SRV, arrived in Bulgaria on 26 June on a visit at the invitation of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense.

At Sofia airport, Army General Dobri Dzhurov warmly welcomed the eminent Vietnamese guest and those accompanying him.

Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, deputy ministers of national defense, and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army took part in the official welcoming ceremony, which was also attended by Nguyen Tien Thong, SRV ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, and Colonel Din Chong Lok, military, air force, and naval attache of the SRV to Bulgaria.

Official talks between the two delegations opened later in one of the rooms of the Ministry of National Defense. Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov gave the guests from fraternal Vietnam a detailed briefing on the decisions of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the December 1988 BCP Central Committee Plenum concerning the in-depth revolutionary transformations in Bulgaria that encompass the political, economic, and intellectual spheres.

Speaking about Bulgaria's peace-loving foreign policy, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov paid special attention to the Balkan aspect of this policy, aimed at consolidating good-neighborly relations in this region. He pointed out that our country is in favor of solving all disputed issues at the negotiating table in the spirit of Helsinki and Vienna, and not by sabre rattling, as has been heard recently from our southern neighbor Turkey.

For his part, Army Gen Le Duc Anh described the Vietnamese people's persevering work in putting into practice the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, aimed at the comprehensive renewal of socialist society and its sure defense. He expressed heartfelt thanks for the sincere and timely aid that Bulgaria is providing for Vietnam.

Army Gen Le Duc Anh pointed out that this country's foreign policy is characterized by a steadfast striving for peace and peaceful coexistence in the Asian and Pacific region and throughout the world. This is why the SRV totally supports Bulgaria's initiative to turn the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone. Regarding the actions of Turkey, which is creating a psychosis and incidents in Bulgaria, Le Duc Anh pointed out that the SRV supports Bulgaria's correct approaches toward resolving the problems that had arisen.

The following delegation members took part in the talks, which were held in an exceptionally warm, friendly atmosphere: on the Vietnamese side— Do Van Duc, deputy chief of the General Staff; Giap Van Cuong, commander of the Navy; Tran Van Nhan, commander of Air Defense; and Pham Thanh Ngan, commander of the Air Force [all names as transliterated]; and on the Bulgarian side: Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, Admiral Ivan Dobrev, Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, Lt Gen Lyubcho Blagoev, and Lt Gen Ivan Stefanov.

In the afternoon the Vietnamese delegation laid wreaths at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum, the Unknown Soldier's Memorial, and the Soviet Army Memorial; and later toured the National Museum of Military History.

In the evening a dinner was given in the reception rooms of the Central Bulgarian Army Club in honor of Army General Le Duc Anh, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and minister of national defense of the SRV, on behalf of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense.

The dinner was attended by the members of the delegations, and also by Col Gen Velko Palin, chief of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee, and Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev.

There is no doubt that the official visit of the Vietnamese military delegation to Bulgaria will be a new contribution to developing Bulgarian-Vietnamese relations and cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Army and the Vietnamese People's Army.

Received by Zhivkov

*AU2906200089 Sofia BTA in English
1830 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, received today Army General Le Duc Anh, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and minister of national defence, who is on an official visit here.

They discussed questions of the deepening cooperation and friendship between the two Armies. On the discussed problems the two sides expressed unanimity and common will for strengthening of peace and understanding between the peoples.

Dzhurov, Others See Off Pact Commander Lushev

*AU2906104989 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 28 Jun 89 p 1*

[Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Nikolay Panov report: "Unification Makes Us Strong"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, departed from Bulgaria on 27 June.

He was given a warm brotherly send-off by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense.

The following were also present: Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of

national defense; Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers of national defense, generals, and officers.

Lieutenant General Mikhail Artemyev, assistant to the representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army, was also in attendance.

Also present at the send-off were Sandor Simics, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria; Igor Ponomarev, charge d'affaires at the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria; and military attaches from the socialist countries.

Mladenov, Genscher Hold Talks in Bonn 29 Jun
AU2906202289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] On 29 June in Bonn the talks between Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and his FRG colleague Hans-Dietrich Genscher continued. They reviewed relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and the issues of disarmament.

It was pointed out that at the new stage of international relations it is important to eliminate the destabilizing factors and the possibility of military conflicts. In this context the two foreign ministers greeted the unilateral steps of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries aimed at decreasing the military potential. They pointed out that now is the time to advance toward mutually agreed measures, aimed at decreasing military confrontation.

The ministers of foreign affairs also proposed a specific idea related to enriching bilateral relations.

In the afternoon Minister Petur Mladenov was received by Richard von Weizsaecker, FRG president. The president expressed satisfaction with the results of his visit to Bulgaria, which took place several months ago. He positively assessed the development of the two countries' relations. According to him the positive example of relations between states with different sociopolitical systems, provided by Bulgaria and the FRG, starts a new page in East-West relations.

Petur Mladenov also met today Otto Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, and Helmut (second name indistinct), speaker of the parliamentary fraction of the Green Party, and Wolfgang Mischnik, chairman of the parliamentary fraction of the Free Democrats.

More on Mladenov's Meetings
AU3006080389 Sofia BTA in English
2104 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn, June 29 (BTA spec. corr. and BTA corr.)—Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Petur Mladenov was received today by Mr Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the FRG.

They stressed the political will of the two states to broaden their cooperation in all spheres, to give their contribution in the strengthening of the new spirit in the international relations. The federal president expressed satisfaction over the political climate which determines the overall relations between Bulgaria and the FRG, over the confidence and respect between them, over the dynamic development of the economic, techno-scientific and cultural relations.

A number of current international issues of mutual interest were also viewed.

The talks between Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher continued today. Special attention was paid to the relations between the organization of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and to the problems of disarmament.

As a consequence of the disarmament dialogue the destabilizing factors should be eliminated. That could be achieved through the establishment of trust, through change in the military doctrines, through the elimination of the opportunity for the undertaking of wide-scale offensive operations. About the Vienna talks on reduction of conventional weapons it was stressed that an agreement can be reached there for lessening of the military potentials to mutually acceptable lower limits.

On the problem of nuclear weapons Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed the common interest of the two states in the achievement of an agreement between the USSR and the United States for reduction of the strategic nuclear devices. Desire was also expressed for the starting of talks on tactical nuclear weapons in the near future.

Minister Mladenov acquainted his colleague with Bulgaria's unilateral measures for reduction of the military potential, which was greeted by the West German side. It was pointed out that after these steps of the socialist countries the next necessary step are the mutual agreements for reductions between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

The role of the medium- and small-size states in the East-West dialogue was reiterated.

The role of the Federal Republic of Germany for the establishing of a new type of interstate relations in Europe was emphasised by the Bulgarian side.

Mr Petur Mladenov outlined the Bulgarian foreign policy course oriented toward security, good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans. Bulgaria's Balkan policy is stimulated by the new in the CSCE process, by the Vienna accords.

Today Mr Petur Mladenov had meetings with Mr Otto von Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party (FDP), with Mr Helmut Lipelt, spokesman of the parliamentary faction of the Green Party, and with Mr Wolfgang Mischnik, chairman of the parliamentary fraction of the FDP.

At last night's official dinner given by the federal minister of foreign affairs Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher in honour of his guest—Minister Petur Mladenov, the two ministers delivered toast speeches.

The West German minister said that the present talks have confirmed the hitherto experience to lead very sincere dialogue. What I would like to outline is the traditional friendship between our two peoples and the mutual personal respect and trust, said Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Mr Petur Mladenov stressed that the dialogue between Bulgaria and the FRG has withstood the trials and unfavourable periods in the development of the European and world affairs. And now the relations between the two states are undergoing upgrade development.

The visit of State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov in the Federal Republic and the visit of Federal President Dr Richard von Weizsaecker in Bulgaria raised the relations to a new stage—a stage of active political contacts, of more efficient trade, economic, technological and cultural cooperation on a larger scale, said Mr Mladenov.

He stressed that Bulgaria makes the necessary for the improvement of the situation in the Balkans, for the development of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation [sentence as received]. "We stand for stable, constant and constructive dialogue with all Balkan states on the base of non-interference in the internal affairs of any Balkan country on whatever question," said the Bulgarian foreign minister.

GDR's Stoph, Soelle Arrive for Official Visit

Guests Greeted by Atanasov

LD2906144189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1418 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, arrived in Sofia today for an official friendly visit. He was invited by his Bulgarian counterpart Georgi Atanasov, who greeted his guest warmly at the airport. Willi Stoph is accompanied by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other officials.

This evening, the government leaders will meet for a first exchange of views and experiences. The discussion will focus on questions of deepening friendly relations and bilateral cooperation between the two countries, and also on topical international problems.

Atanasov, Stoph Dinner Speeches

AU3006075689 Sofia BTA in English
2033 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—Nowadays we have the real opportunity to find true ways for filling up the relations with the GDR with new content corresponding to the changing realities, said Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, at the dinner given in honour of Mr Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

Mr Georgi Atanasov pointed out that the opportunities provided by the specialization and cooperation in the production can be utilized more fully, the cooperation in the scientific sphere can be enriched, the cultural contacts can be developed more widely.

Of great importance for us is the experience of the USSR. We study carefully and with interest the experience of the GDR and the other fraternal countries. We are ready to use all that's valuable and useful which contributes to the advance of socialism, emphasised Mr Georgi Atanasov.

He noted that the new quality which acquires the development of socialism in each of the socialist community countries, the tendencies on a world-wide scale, set problems which go beyond the frameworks of the bilateral relations. Our firm conviction is that a restructuring in the activity of the CMEA [CEMA] is necessary which should bring to deepening of the integration processes, specialisation and cooperation in accordance with the emerging new tendencies in the European Continent, stressed Bulgaria's prime minister. At the same time we think that the deepening of the direct bilateral integration contacts can cooperate to the resolution of that issue, he said.

Mr Georgi Atanasov stressed that Bulgaria and the GDR assess highly the peace initiatives of the USSR and the socialist community countries and give their contribution to the practical realization of the foreign policy of the fraternal socialist countries. The initiatives of the GDR for strengthening of confidence and peace in central Europe are well-known.

Dwelling on Bulgaria's efforts in this direction in the Balkans he stressed: For us it is a durable and stable policy. It is not influenced by conjuncture changes and actions, rejects any attempts for interference in the internal affairs of other countries and strives for the most important: peace, good-neighbour relations and well-being of all peoples in the region.

Mr Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, said that the eternal friendship with the USSR is of invaluable importance for the all-around strengthening of the GDR. During the meeting between Mr Erich Honecker and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, he said, once

again was reiterated the strong will to continue to broaden the bilateral relations based on the unity of views on principled questions of the foreign policy and socialist construction.

Mr Stoph stressed that thanks to the constructive and dynamic peace policy of the socialist states and most of all of the Soviet Union, thanks to the active actions of the peace-loving forces in the whole world nowadays we can note evident advance and positive tendencies on the international arena.

Pointing out that an important step on the road of establishing of the "common European home" would be the creating in central Europe of zones of more trust, security and cooperation, as well as zones free of chemical and nuclear weapons, the Balkans included, Mr Willi Stoph expressed the unreserved support to the active efforts of Bulgaria for development of the good-neighbourly cooperation between all Balkan states.

Let me express the common view, he continued, that the documents from Helsinki and Vienna provide the "common European home" with good regulations for internal order. However they must be equally valid for all its inhabitants. They are incompatible with the interference in the internal affairs of neighbours, said the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

In conclusion he stressed that the GDR attaches great significance to the deepening of the cooperation between the socialist countries, to their efficient interaction in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA.

ADN Reports Stoph Visit

LD2906204989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1845 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—The GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to expand their cooperation in all spheres of social life for the benefit of their peoples and in the interests of strengthening peace and socialism. This was stated by the two countries' government leaders, Willi Stoph and Georgi Atanasov, in Sofia today. The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers arrived in Sofia today on an official friendship visit at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart and was warmly welcomed by his host at the airport, which was ceremonially decorated with the national flags of the GDR and Bulgaria. Willi Stoph is accompanied by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and by other public figures.

During an initial exchange of views and experiences, Willi Stoph and Georgi Atanasov noted an increased qualitative level in bilateral economic relations, which have been given further impetus by the program for the expansion and deepening of economic and scientific-technical cooperation until the year 2000, signed by Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov in Sofia in 1987. The current visit also serves this goal.

Stoph and Atanasov underlined the role played by cooperation and specialization in the further intensification of the two countries' national economies. Good possibilities for deepening that process lay especially in engineering, in electronics, and in the chemical industry.

Turning to the international situation, they referred to the positive trends which are at present emerging in the international arena. A far-reaching change for the better has not, however, come about, and the international situation continued to be complex and contradictory. Zones for greater trust, security, and cooperation as well as nuclear- and chemical weapons-free regions would be important steps on the path to a "common European home." The great peace commitment of the socialist states is demonstrated, for example, by the unilateral reduction in defense expenditures, armed forces, and armaments. Earlier, Willi Stoph paid tribute during a wreath-laying ceremony at the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum, to the great son of the Bulgarian working class and respected internationalist.

This evening, the Bulgarian head of government hosted a dinner in honor of his guest at the "Vitosha" Hotel. In their toasts, the two prime ministers expressed their satisfaction with the high level of cooperation between their countries. Atanasov praised the GDR as an important element of peace and security in the heart of Europe. Its 40 years of stable and dynamic development enjoys great respect in Bulgaria. Stoph underlined support for Bulgaria's foreign policy, which is aimed at good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation in the Balkans. The GDR is following with sympathy the efforts of the Bulgarian friends to shape socialism in an even more attractive way.

It was stressed that great importance is attached to the effective cooperation of the fraternal countries in the Warsaw Pact and in the CEMA. Willi Stoph and Georgi Atanasov underlined the firm alliance between the two countries. It will never be permitted that what had been achieved with diligent labor should be called into question or harmed by enemies of socialism.

The talks will continue in Sofia tomorrow.

Talks Continue 30 Jun

AU3006093789 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Talks continued in Sofia this morning between Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. Members of the two delegations also took part in the talks.

The two government leaders briefed one another on the tasks that their countries are solving at present. Stress was laid on the very good state of bilateral relations, but at the same time it was pointed out that unutilized opportunities exist in certain fields of economic cooperation. Emphasis was placed on the advantages provided

by direct links, production sharing, specialization, and cooperation in the fields of science and technology. Attention was focused on specific forms for intensifying bilateral relations.

'Vaccine' for Turkey-Bound Citizens Queried
AU2906133489 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 28 Jun 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Voice of Truth"]

[Text] We return to the answers to the questions asked by journalists at the news conference called in Sofia last week on the subject: "On Certain Topical Problems of Bulgaria's Balkans Policy and Bulgarian-Turkish Relations." Scientific workers, specialists, and readers are expressing opinions on these issues.

Question from a representative of TIME magazine: Turkish radio stations are broadcasting reports that the people now leaving Bulgaria for Turkey are being injected with a kind of vaccine that causes sterility in young girls and in some cases even leads to death?

Answer from Dr Evgeni Apostolov, chief state public health inspector of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: What is most perplexing is that these slanders are being taken up and disseminated not only by the mass media, but also by the minister of health of the Republic of Turkey in person. We categorically deny charges of this kind, which are politically motivated. Up to the end of May 1989 Bulgaria required that all Bulgarian citizens leaving for countries with infected areas should be immunized against cholera and yellow fever and take preventative medication for malaria. These measures are in accordance with WHO's requirements for preventing these diseases.

Since May, WHO has recommended a new type of international certificate (not including a record of immunization against cholera). In view of the fact that the "importation" of cholera cannot be prevented by using an anticholera vaccine, because of the latter's low effectiveness, it is recommended to discontinue its use in those cases where it is still employed. Following this recommendation, from 1 June 1989 obligatory vaccination against cholera was no longer required for Bulgarian citizens traveling to any foreign country. Immunization against yellow fever and preventative treatment for malaria have been retained for those countries in which cases of these diseases have been registered. The medical community in Bulgaria is not aware of any vaccine that causes sterility in young girls, or any virus that may later lead to death.

A vaccine against German measles made by the French Merio Company and the Belgian firm of Smith Kline French was introduced in Bulgaria 1 year ago.

Girls are vaccinated at 15 and 16 years. This vaccine is administered at the recommendation of WHO, with the aim of completely eradicating congenital rubella in the world by the year 2000.

I would like to use this opportunity to point out that, as far as the medical services for persons leaving for the Republic of Turkey are concerned, these are well organized, and trouble-free highly-qualified medical aid is provided for any Bulgarian citizen who requires it.

Question from a Kuwaiti journalist: Are the Bulgarian Muslims guaranteed equal rights, and can they count on the law's protection when coercion is practiced on them?

Answer by Andrey Andreev, people's deputy and member of the Mandate Commission of the National Assembly, candidate of historical sciences: I have had telephone calls from friends and acquaintances from my native region, picturesque Gerlovo, Turgovishte, Tolbukhin, and Patak, expressing outrage at the orchestrated anti-Bulgarian campaign in capitalist Turkey, the kindling of an emigration psychosis among the Bulgarian Muslims, and the falsification of the Bulgarian laws. They are alarmed that many of our compatriots are yielding to the Turkish propaganda speculations, without having any idea of the kind of people who lie behind this propaganda and what their aims and intentions are.

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria all citizens enjoy equal civil, humanitarian, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. These rights are protected by the socialist laws, which meet all the requirements of the international acts and norms relating to civil and political rights. Bulgaria is fulfilling all the obligations relating to protecting human rights that arise from the UN Charter. It supports the equality and integrity of all rights and liberties in the spirit of the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1949, the clauses of the Helsinki Final Act, and the documents of the Vienna meeting on human rights and humanitarian cooperation, because they correspond to our country's basic law—the Constitution.

As a people's deputy, I voted for the new laws adopted at the tenth session of the Ninth National Assembly, which provide Bulgarian citizens with sure and lasting guarantees regarding traveling abroad and returning to the country. I refer to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports. Yet it is this profoundly democratic and humanitarian law, which is found in few countries, that is being abused by the Turkish authorities in order to achieve their own selfish goals. Turkey was also a signatory to the Vienna document on creating broad international rights for citizens in all countries. Why then has it not adopted a democratic law like ours?

The Bulgarian Muslims and their descendants not only possess all rights in their native land, but they fully use and implement these rights. It gives me pleasure to state that, during the years of socialist construction, under conditions of full equal rights, thousands of cadres have emerged from this section of the Bulgarian people to take up responsible posts in all spheres of the country's socioeconomic, political, and cultural life. High trust has been placed in them.

Our legislation is the same for all. It does not provide privileges, nor does it impose restrictions upon citizens depending on their religion. This legislation is not temporary, but lasting in nature.

Minister Rebuts Turkish 'Vaccine' Allegations
AU2906191089 Sofia BTA in English
1804 GMT 29 Jun 89

["Minister Mincho Peychev: Absurd Accusations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—Dr Mincho Peychev, minister of public health and social care, has sent a letter to Dr Hiroshi Nakadjima, director general of the World Health Organization, and to Dr Asval, regional director of the World Health Organization for Europe.

He addresses them in connection with the unmotivated and untrue in content letter by the minister of health care of Turkey, who makes absurd, from the point of view of the modern civilization, accusations against Bulgaria that she is carrying out anti humane actions on Bulgarian Muslims, and thus engages himself in a harmful for both countries anti-Bulgarian campaign.

The letter by Mr Sivgin contains allegations that some "immunization" is being carried out in Bulgaria aiming to cause "sterility, epidemics, AIDS and death" among the Bulgarian Muslims. He makes the absurd accusations that the health authorities in Bulgaria refuse treatment and care to ill Bulgarian Muslims, that they have violate international documents signed by Bulgaria in connection with public health care.

Any objective person would take into consideration only the fact that the Bulgarian Muslims are leaving temporary for Turkey, without giving up, according to the law, their Bulgarian citizenship. And this enables those persons to return to Bulgaria any moment they chose, for which they have nominal as well as actual right. Therefore the following question is only logical: Which country, under contemporary conditions, would dare to infect with the AIDS virus, for instance, human group who can return back whenever they want, reads the letter.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Care has proposed to the director general of the World Health Organization that a group of experts of the organization should come and check in Bulgaria these constantly repeated allegations. Bulgaria is ready to render full cooperation, stresses Minister Peychev.

With great bitterness we find that these allegations are tendenciously fabricated to disinform the organizations and persons to whom they have been sent in order to create anti-Bulgarian feelings and to kindle chauvinistic psychosis among parts of the population in Bulgaria and Turkey, reads the letter.

The leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Care informs the leaders of the World Health Organization that till the end of May 1989 it has required from all Bulgarian citizens leaving for countries with infected zones to be immunized against cholera, yellow fever, as well as medication prophylaxis against malaria. These measures are in compliance with the requirements of the World Health Organization for prophylaxis against the above mentioned diseases.

In accordance with a recommendation of the WHO of June 1, 1989, with an order by the chief state sanitary inspector and first vice minister of public health and social services, the obligatory vaccination against cholera for Bulgarian citizens leaving abroad, anywhere in the world, has been canceled. The immunization against yellow fever and the drug prophylaxis for malaria has been preserved only for the countries where cases of these diseases have been registered.

For one year in Bulgaria has been introduced antirubeola vaccine, production of the French "Merio" Company and the Belgian "Smith Klein French" Company. Girls of 15 and 16 years of age are vaccinated. This vaccination is made under the recommendation of the World Health Organization which aims at eliminating congenital rubeola in the world by the year 2000.

The national programme for combating AIDS is successfully implemented. Bulgaria is in the initial phase of the epidemic. About 2 million people have been screened—78 out of them are carriers of the HIV infection, and three have got the disease.

It is well known that Bulgaria has long ago provided flawless medical service to all Bulgarian citizens in all populated places. Bulgaria's health care has at its disposal more than 27,000 doctors, 6,000 pharmacologists, over 4,000 pharmacutists, 86,000 people of college educated medical personnel. There is one physician to take care of 331 people, one dentist—1,500 persons, etc. 251 medical care establishments provide 87,000 hospital beds for the population, and in sanatoria—over 22,000 beds, which makes 98 hospital beds and 24 sanatoria beds per 10,000 people of the population.

As far as the medical service of the persons who have applied for permission and are leaving for Turkey is concerned, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Care of Bulgaria has organized and provides flawless and highly qualified medical care to every citizen of the republic.

Of late, however, the Bulgarian Muslims refuse categorically to receive any medical care offered to them by the health authorities of Bulgaria, influenced by different centres and mass media in Turkey. Even patients suffering from hemodialysis, in terminal and critical condition and child-bearing women refuse medical care, i.e., even in cases of emergency when the medical care is absolutely

necessary in order to save a human life. These facts should be established by experts of the World Health Organization so that they can draw their own conclusions.

It is well-known that health care in Turkey is on a very low level. Statistical data show that in 1984 in Turkey one physician had to attend to about 11,442 people. We should not forget the fact that physicians are mostly concentrated in the big centres of the country. In the more remote south and southeastern parts one physician has got to provide medical care to tens of thousands people. The epidemics of abdominal typhus, cholera, malaria, epidemic hepatitis and tuberculosis are a serious problem in many regions of Turkey. In the Turkish press—in GUNAYDIN, TERCUMAN and other papers, one can read with what medical service the population in Turkey is provided and how the system of the Turkish health care works. We do not mention it for our own pleasure but to enable any unbiased observer to make a comparison, it is said in the letter.

We understand that the Turkish authorities cannot tackle with the problems they created themselves by deliberately inciting the Bulgarian Muslims to go to Turkey, there being not able to ensure even a small part of the conditions in which they live in Bulgaria.

It is now common knowledge that the Bulgarian Muslims are settled in insanitary tent camps that lack any hygienic conditions or even in the open air. No care is taken of them, no sanitary and anti-epidemic measures are taken. In this situation the outbreak of epidemics is a question of time. Some people have already been reported dead. In this connection Bulgaria is greatly concerned about the health of the Bulgarian Muslims received in Turkey.

That it is Mr Sivgin's intention to lay the blame on somebody else, to channel the natural anxiety of the international public in an entirely wrong direction is only but obvious, it is underlined in the letter.

Prof E. Apostolov, chief sanitary inspector and deputy minister of public health and social care of Bulgaria, already declared that Bulgaria is ready to receive experts of the World Health Organization at any time to make a check of the immunization practice and of all aspects of the medical service with regard to the Bulgarians who are going abroad. Such group of experts should visit Turkey and see how the Bulgarian Muslims are attended to there and if there are particularly difficult problems in this respect, we are ready to render assistance, it is said in the letter.

The world must learn the truth. We must strive for it by using fair means, authentic facts and scientific arguments. For us, physicians and activists of health care, the truth is a sacred thing, Minister Mincho Peychev pointed out.

From these positions we are ready for a dialogue with any institution in the world, without any political conditions whatever set by any country.

In conclusion, a request is made that the letter be brought to the knowledge of the health ministers of the World Health Organization member countries.

FRG Parliamentarians Comment on Turkish Exodus
AU2906190189 Sofia BTA in English
1648 GMT 29 Jun 89

["Bulgarian Muslims Are Not Deported to Turkey"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (spec. corr. and BTA corr.)—At a press conference in Bonn Mr Gernot Erler and Mr Peter Wuertz, Bundestag deputies, called upon Turkey to put an end to her anti-Bulgarian campaign and to sit down at the table for negotiations with Bulgaria without any preliminary conditions. Bulgaria has already declared that this is her desire, too.

Underlining their being completely unbiased, Mr Gernot Erler, chairman of the Bundestag Group For Relations With the Bulgarian National Assembly, and Mr Peter Wuertz, chairman of the Bundestag Group For Relations With the Turkish Parliament, pointed out that any deportation of the Bulgarian Muslims to Turkey is out of the question. The Bulgarian citizens can go wherever they want. The deputies are the first foreign parliamentarians to have visited the two countries after some leading circles in Turkey launched a propaganda campaign against Bulgaria. They stated that such actions on the part of Turkey only hinder the finding of a solution which would relieve "the great human tragedy". Mr Gernot Erler stressed the responsiveness of the Bulgarian officials who are ready to give all information required. The talks he had with Muslim religious figures and common Muslims convinced him that the religious temples in Bulgaria are not ruined and that there are normal conditions there for holding religious services.

Mr Peter Wuertz agreed with his colleague and emphasized once more that the Bulgarian authorities are doing their best to make things easier for those who want to travel abroad. They render them all-round assistance and obviously there is a humane attitude towards all citizens of the country. He drew attention to the fact that as a result of the Turkish propaganda a lot of Bulgarian Muslims think the border will be closed. That is why tensions are created among those waiting at the Kapitan Andreevo border check point.

In this connection he referred to what Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, stated, namely, that Bulgaria is firmly resolved to continue to apply the operative foreign passports law which is in conformity with her obligations ensuing from the development of the all-European process and in conformity with the final document of the Vienna conference.

The two parliamentarians were unanimous in saying that there is no evidence of forcible deportation of Bulgarian citizens, as some mass media in the West and, first of all,

in Turkey, allege. "On the contrary, what deportation do you see when the people are leaving in their own cars, carrying all their property", asked Mr Gernot Erler the numerous journalists. In his speech there was bitterness over the conduct of the official Turkish representatives. For example, at the meeting with the Vali of Edirne, the Turkish side spoke once again of "driving away" the Bulgarian Muslims "on a mass scale". "The creation of a psychosis is not to the interest of finding mutually acceptable solutions", he stated. Both deputies were unanimous in their conclusions: "Bulgaria's Government does not want that fuel be added to the fire, it is worried by what is happening. It is ready for a dialogue without any preliminary conditions".

The two parliamentarians elaborated on some of their ideas in connection with the voluntary change of the names of some Bulgarian citizens.

Kapitan Andreevo Check Point Situation Viewed
AU2906201889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Dilyan Todorov, special correspondent from Kapitan Andreevo check point: "Quiet, But Tense"]

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo, 27 June—The road to the South is quiet.

The temporary check points and the short-lived tent camps are empty. The long waiting hours (about 5-6 hours daily) and the traffic jams, involving hundreds of passenger cars and trucks, are a thing of the past. This apparent change, however, is not yet the result of any realization of the senselessness of the risk people are taking. It is primarily the result of the strict order established in the settlements from which the travelers are departing toward the Turkish border. The submitting of applications and the issue of passports continue, but the departure is now settled according to schedule, in a strictly organized manner.

Approximately 3,500 Bulgarian citizens wishing to visit our southern neighbor country are daily crossing the Kapitan Andreevo border checkpoint. The cars at the parking lot in front of the check point building are constantly changing, but their number—about 60—is always the same. Large trucks also appear—some of those leaving have not left behind even one, single object in their homes. We ask them: Why? They categorically answer: "We are not coming back!" Nevertheless, none of them says "farewell." They all shake hands with us saying "goodbye."

Do you have your passports, vehicle documents, insurance payment receipts, declarations on the export of valuables.... These questions are asked by Ivan, one of our acquaintances from Sofia Airport who has been assigned to assist his colleagues at the customs, and they require brief, precise, and prompt answers, and quick reactions. Do you have other currency?

The answer is negative, but an unsealed bundle of 10 leva notes is discovered in a handbag, and an other one inside the vehicle, a third one—in an other bag. These persons claim that they have just forgotten the money when they were shopping. The amount exceeds 3,000 leva,—it will be counted in a while. The money will be put into the owner's account. He will get it back upon his return. Seven such cases occurred within half an hour. Dollars and other foreign currencies were discovered on a women 2 days ago. She had purchased all of them on the "black market" in exchange of 80,000 leva. This amount was calculated according to the official rate and converted into leva, so that 1,800 leva will be paid into the account of this citizen. The law is the law, and it applies to everyone.

Stoycho Danailov from Zlatograd is standing aside, watching, and his hands are still trembling. He spent 3 hours of the previous night on Turkish territory and he still cannot believe that he is back home. Out of pure generosity, prompted by the impulse to help the people whose luggage he had carried, he crossed the border without a passport. He had no other intentions, whatsoever, but he was promptly arrested, together with the other two persons who were traveling to Turkey. Thanks to the intervention of Vulcho Stoyanov, the official on duty at the Bulgarian border checkpoint, the three of them were released.

A Moskvich with a Shumen registration plate, No 91-86, is following the flow of vehicles. It is bursting with luggage. An approximately 55-year old man is lying on the back seat with bent arms and legs. He seems to be unconscious, presumably suffering from severe brain hemorrhages. He was hit by an automobile on the road. Instead of going to Turkey, Sevdalin Raykov, was carried to the Svilengrad hospital. His relatives, however, refused to wait for his recovery and secretly removed him from the hospital, after which they took off.

A distance of about 150 meters separates the two borders. Luggage is being unloaded on a small platform immediately behind our barrier. Dozens of hand carts, pushed by men and women, absorbed in their thoughts, are crossing the distance between the two barriers.

They have enough time to realize that their very decision to leave Bulgaria was a mistake. Let us hope that those who have not yet left will think it over.

From all other points of view, the road to Kapitan Andreevo is quiet.

Turkey's 'Hegemonistic Ambitions' Attacked
AU2906132189 Sofia BTA in English
1157 GMT 29 Jun 89

["Nationalist and Hegemonistic Ambitions"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—"Double Standard Policy" is the heading under which today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO runs a signed commentary on Turkey's foreign policy.

Pointing to the U-turn in the development of international relations as a result of new political thinking, which started to be reckoned with even by states and circles until recently defined as reactionary par excellence, the author regrets that in a sense, the Balkans should be numbered among the exceptions in this respect. The main reason for this is Turkey's foreign policy, inconsistent, conservative and even reactionary in a many respects, writes Mr Danton Nedev, senior research associate and M.Sc. (Econ.).

The Turkish leaders have always declared their commitment to the ideas of detente, disarmament and state-to-state cooperation. Turkey has signed international accords as well as major bilateral documents such as the declarations on the principles of good-neighbourliness and cooperation with the USSR, Romania and Bulgaria. Turkey has taken realistic positions on a number of regional conflicts. At the same time, however, the author points out, the Turkish foreign policy has repeatedly and provenly metamorphosed when the country's immediate interests have been affected.

The commentary says that an unrealistic "awareness" of the national interests by the human factor has always led, as history shows, to a failure to comply with the requirements for the stability of the international system. In this sense, the toleration in whatever measure of Pan-Turkism defining Turkey's "national interests" in the large intercontinental zone from Yugoslavia to China and from Yakutia to Iran cannot be ignored by the states in those regions.

The Turkish diplomacy, Mr Danton Nedev writes, is steadily seeking and claims to find "legitimate grounds" for political and other actions constituting an obvious interference in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries or violation of international commitments assumed by Turkey itself. In favour of this argument, the author recalls facts from Turkey's policy towards Cyprus and Bulgaria.

International legal instruments, many of which have long lost their political and legal significance, were dusted out of the archives to prove the existence of a "Turkish ethnic minority" in Bulgaria, the evolution of its "condition" and Turkey's right to patronize it as its "motherland". Turkey has shaped its anti-Bulgarian "hard line" on this basis, the commentary says.

In conclusion the author indicates that the way in which Turkey interprets the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, of the Madrid and the Viennese CSCE concluding documents from the angle of nationalist and hegemonistic ambitions and contrary to the requirements that all sections of those documents are indivisible and equally important leads to a distortion of the letter and the spirit of the security and cooperation accords which cost so much effort to reach.

Army Officers Dissatisfied, Want Out of Army AU2906205389

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 28 June on page 2 publishes a 1,100-word article by Captain Spirdon Spirdonov entitled "Confusion Or a Look Back Into the Past." Spirdonov examines the cases of two young Army officers in their mid-twenties, Lieutenant Daniel Gospodinov and Senior Lieutenant Georgi Manolov, who have applied to buy themselves out of the Army before completing their agreed terms of service.

Spirdonov notes that Gospodinov and Manolov both have good service records and have been members of the Bulgarian Communist Party since they were cadets. On their reasons for wanting to leave the Army, Spirdonov quotes Gospodinov as saying: "I need a permanent cultural life. I am overloaded with duties in my service, and have to devote myself entirely to Army service in order to fulfill them. If the Army gave me a chance to develop as an artist, I would not leave. Nor should we underestimate the problems with officers' social security. In many cases the attitude of society toward us, the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, is offensive." Manolov is quoted as saying: "My work in the Army does not provide me with the necessary living standard. If I live with my family in Sofia, my everyday and material comforts will be provided for." According to Spirdonov, Manolov adds: "I simply don't like military service. If necessary, I will put in applications to leave every year, but I will get out. Everyday I see the same unattractive prospects for myself. Maybe in a year or two I will be made a battery commander, but that is no great privilege." Spirdonov asks: "Who is responsible for these young men being unprepared for the difficulties in the Army?" He adds that it seems that their many years of cadet training have been in vain. He also points out that both officers are not sure of their plans for civilian life. Manolov is quoted as thinking of returning to the profession of printing, which he studied in secondary school, while Gospodinov is said to have plans of getting a job and preparing for entry into the "Cyril and Methodius" Higher Technical School. Spirdonov finds it amazing that neither officer considers the profession of electronics engineer, for which they were trained in the Army, because "both agree that in spite of their high-level diplomas they have forgotten their knowledge, and are unlikely to find a director willing to give them a job." Nevertheless, both are firmly resolved to leave, although they will have to pay large amounts of money to buy themselves out.

In conclusion, Spirdonov again asks who is responsible for this situation, and answers: "I would say that we are all guilty. After changing your flat ten times in the same small town during 4 years, and paying 50-80 leva in rent, you naturally want to own your own house and enjoy family comfort. There are other logical arguments as well."

RUDE PRAVO Attacks U.S. Broadcasts
LD3006081989 Prague CTK in English
0726 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 30 (CTK)—"It is an appeal for a sale of socialism," RUDE PRAVO wrote today about a text called "Several Sentences" and broadcast by one of U.S. radio transmitters last night.

"It is an appeal for confrontation with the socialist state, our social system, containing demands for the recognition of 'Charter (77)' and its offshoots, for its free destructive activity, split of united trade unions and other social organizations, return to unlimited private enterprise," the daily said.

It pointed out that "similar 'petitionmania' is to increase the popularity of several dozen of individuals of antisocialist orientation, and to win support of the public for goals about which a majority of people know only little or have a wrong conception. It is beyond doubt who stands in the background and what is the political aim of such actions, carried out mainly by Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America and other U.S. institutions. What they seek," the daily wrote, "is the overthrow of our social system as nowadays 'Czechoslovakia (allegedly) has nothing to say to the present' and is, as was claimed by well-known anti-communist (Zbigniew) Brzezinski in an interview for BBC several days ago, on its last legs."

"Every discerning man knows that the issue here is not only 'several sentences'. The purpose is for the forces acting for our enemy to win over part of society, and for the authors of the appeal to win to their signatures, also those of some popular artists and other citizens," the daily said.

It stressed in conclusion: "Patience has its limits. There is an instructive proverb: he who sows the wind, will reap the whirlwind. It is time for everybody trying to play with fire to realize this truth."

Chemical Industry Purchases U.S. License
AU2906164289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Jun 89 p 1

["sy"-signed report: "It Will Be the World's Second; Important Expansion of Specialty and Final Chemicals"]

[Text] Prague (Our correspondent)—Reducing the consumption of crude oil presupposes learning to make most of it. The construction not so long ago of the petrochemical complex in Litvinov which, among other things, constitutes a big capacity for the production of ethylene, is a good basis for this. However, ethylene is not the last possibility, but rather the beginning of a long series of fractions for more refined products.

We have bought from the American Chevron company, a license for the conversion of higher hydrocarbons into detergents, that is, cleaning products, solvents, cosmetics (shampoos, tooth pastes), and the production of high quality synthetic oils for use in extremely high and low temperatures.

Engineer Josef Cilek, deputy general director of Technoexport, informed us that recently a contract was signed with the Austro-French VOEST Alpine-Litwin consortium for the delivery of technology which will ensure the practical utilization of the license purchased from Chevron. Construction of the Chemopetrol-Spolana state enterprise in Neratovice will be handled to make it possible to start production as early as April 1992. The construction will be ensured mainly by the Armabeton enterprise.

Desulphurized ethylene from Litvinov will be the raw material for the production; this will better utilize the capacity in Litvinov. The production of alpha-olefins in Neratovice will not affect the environment. The first unit will go into operation in the United States; thus, ours will be the world's second. The costs, including those already incurred, will total roughly Kcs3 billion. From the planned 120,000 tonnes of the annual production, 40 percent will be for our use, with the greater part being exported—partly to the USSR in exchange for natural gas deliveries in excess of the agreed volume, and partly to the Western European countries, where our agreement with the Chevron company guarantees sales. The estimate is that the investment will be recouped in foreign currency in about 3 years.

Thus, the construction of the alpha-olefin capacity is an important strengthening of our production of specialty and fine chemicals, of stepped-up exports of chemical products and, last but not least, of the utilization of scientific-technical knowledge in practice at a world level.

Jakes, Gen Lushev Discuss Pact Defense Policy
LD2906133489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1300 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Today in Prague, Comrade Milos Jakes and Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces member states, who is on a working visit in our country, discussed topical questions of international security and the defense policy of the Warsaw Pact states. This is connected with preparations for the upcoming session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest.

Jakes Congratulates PRC's Jiang Zemin
AU2906203089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
28 Jun 89 p 5

[Text] Beijing (CTK Correspondent)—Eduard Saul, Czechoslovakia's ambassador to the PRC, delivered a congratulatory telegram from Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]

Central Committee, for Jiang Zemin, the new CPC Central Committee general secretary, in Beijing yesterday [27 June]. Li Shuzheng, deputy director of the CPC Central Committee's International Liaison Department, who received the telegram, stressed that China values the friendship of the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people expressed on the occasion of the recent complex developments in China.

Jakes Addresses Meeting on Ecology 27 Jun
AU3006072989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
28 Jun pp 1, 2

["kj, CTK"-signed report: "The Creation and Protection of the Environment—A Cause for the Entire National Front; Joint Session of the Central Committees of the CSSR, Czech, and Slovak National Fronts"]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our correspondent and CTK)—The Central Committees of the Czechoslovak, Czech, and Slovak National Fronts met for a joint session in Prague on Tuesday [27 June], to discuss the present state of the creation and protection of the environment, and the main tasks of National Front bodies and organizations in the period to come. The session was opened by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

In his opening statement, Comrade M. Jakes emphasized the serious nature of the session, whose main aim is to consider how the National Front succeeds in contributing to the solution of this vitally important issue, and to assess how the share of all organizations associated in the National Front in the creation and protection of the environment could grow by making use of all experience acquired thus far. He said that the issue under discussion is an expression of the endeavor of the entire National Front and all its constituent parts to focus on the solution of basic issues that directly influence the life and work of our citizens and are of fundamental importance for the entire society. This is fully in accord with the implementation of proposals that are aimed at activating National Front bodies and organizations, and at increasing their participation in the formulation, implementation, and review of policy.

Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, then spoke about the present situation in the creation and protection of the environment in the CSSR, and about the main tasks of National Front bodies and organizations in the forthcoming period. (Excerpts from his speech are published on page 4)

The debate was started by Ivan Gonko, first deputy chairman of the Central Trade Union Council. He stressed that trade union members enforce the principle that what is not ecological is not economically sound.

Members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement criticize, in particular, the number of exemptions being granted to those who pollute nature. [passage omitted]

Karel Dohnalek, chairman of the City National Committee in Osek near Duchcov, drew attention to the negative impact of the deteriorating environment on the state of health of the people in North Bohemia. [passage omitted]

Cyril Moravcik, deputy chairman of the Cooperative Farmers' Union Central Committee, spoke, among other things, about the negative influence of emissions and acid rain on the quality of agricultural land; in the growing of grain crops, for instance, this influence accounts for losses of almost 20 percent. He said that the ecological initiative of farmers is curbed by the decision of the CSSR Government of this May, which prohibits the start of new investment projects. [passage omitted]

Jan Skoda, central secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, called for a maximally open ecological policy. Attempts to conceal the truth play into the hands of demagoguery, rumors, and speculation, he declared. He also underlined the need to comply with all legal norms connected with environmental protection. [passage omitted]

Vladislav Rulec, deputy chairman of the Czech Gamekeepers' Union, pointed to the uncalled-for changes in nature and the declining numbers of game animals resulting from the excessive use of chemical agents in agriculture. [passage omitted]

A total of 26 participants in the joint session spoke in the discussion. The discussion clearly confirmed the endeavor of political parties, social, and special interest organizations to contribute even more effectively by joint efforts to the solution of problems concerning the creation and protection of the environment, and it endorsed measures proposed by the government to improve the present state of affairs. [passage omitted]

At the end of the session, Comrade Milos Jakes took the floor. He said that the course of the session confirmed that, politically, ecology is a very sensitive area which immediately affects the conditions of people's life and work. It also showed that the National Front and its bodies and organizations have these issues at heart, and that they want to participate responsibly in the attainment of the changes for the better that have been called for.

He went on to stress the urgent need to apply ecological criteria and a sensitive attitude to nature during all socioeconomic activity—in planning and decisionmaking at all levels, in designing machinery and technological processes, in implementing investment projects, and in dealings with citizens. This will also require considerable expenditures. He also drew attention to the fact that the solution of ecological problems has crossed the borders of states, and requires the joining of forces and the pooling of funds on an international scale. The

initiative of the Czechoslovak Government, which has met with a positive response not only in all neighboring countries, but also in a broader context—within the framework of CEMA, the European Communities, and the United Nations, whose representatives participated in the recent negotiations in Prague—represents an important step in this direction.

"The concept for the further development of our national economy, which is connected with structural changes, must meet all these ecological requirements," M. Jakes went on to say. "But this does not mean that we should wait. Everywhere it is necessary to ponder ways of developing and increasing social and local initiative, of mobilizing all accessible resources and possibilities, reinforcing the public's interest in and responsibility for the creation and protection of the environment, and intensifying education in ecological thinking and conduct. Ecology must be a public affair. The flow of information to the public and our media must play their role in this. Through the medium of election programs, the z-project [community self-improvement program], and their monitoring activity, national committees have wide scope for activity when it comes to the solution of ecological problems. The same holds true for the National Front and the political parties and social, cooperative, and special interest organizations associated with it, for labor collectives, and for various civic activities and movements which help nature.

"I believe that the approach of the National Front to these questions is correctly expressed in the statement of the CSSR, Czech, and Slovak National Front Central Committees adopted at today's session. It is necessary to broadly popularize it, to work with it systematically, and above all to actively translate its content into life. This is also in full accord with the implementation of the conclusions aimed at activating National Front bodies and organizations and increasing their participation in the formulation, implementation, and review of policy.

"This will also strengthen the very authority of the National Front as the basis of our political system, as a living social movement providing extensive scope for the assertion and expansion of socialist democracy. It is possible to say that certain results have been achieved in this respect. However, on the whole we cannot be satisfied. National Front bodies and organizations must show greater initiative and sense of purpose in coming up with their own ideas and proposals for measures aimed at solving both local and nationwide problems and, by means of specific forms of activity, contributing to meeting the people's interests and needs, including the solving of ecological problems.

"What is particularly important in this respect is to substantially increase activity and resourcefulness in the work of the primary elements of organizations associated in the National Front, so that the role of the National Front in the implementation of the program of restructuring and democratization in our society, and in the

fulfillment of the tasks contained in the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February increases."

In conclusion, M. Jakes conveyed thanks to the participants in the session for their active approach to the issues under debate and for the inspiring views, proposals, and ideas voiced in the discussion, all of which will be responsibly assessed in the Presidium of the National Front Central Committee, and which will serve as a point of departure in further work. He expressed the confidence that the results of the joint session will be favorably projected in the work of National Front organizations, both in the solution of ecological issues, and in the fulfillment of the tasks of socioeconomic development, restructuring, and the democratization of our society.

The session was further attended by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec; CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members Alois Indra, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek; and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat Vasil Mohorita and Jindrich Polednik. [passage omitted]

Jakes Sees Off Delegation to DPRK Festival
LD2606184489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Excerpts] We are opening the home news with the most important event. Comrade Milos Jakes and other representatives of the National Front Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic met in Prague today with representatives of the delegation that will represent us at the 13th World Youth and Students Festival in Pyongyang. Roman Zamboch was there and prepared the following report for the news bulletin.

[Begin recording] [Zamboch] The representatives of all ages and social groups of Czechoslovak youth—members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth and those who are not its members, representatives of political parties and other organizations of the National Front—all of them will represent Czechoslovakia in front of the eyes of the whole world in the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Comrade Milos Jakes is now bidding farewell to them on behalf of the Central Committee and the National Front.

[Jakes] I would like to thank you for the fact that you did not take the festival as a mere preparation for a visit or a meeting, but that you connected it with a grand work and other activity, that is, with a grand youth activity, and first and foremost, with the activity of the Socialist Union of Youth. This should not just be praised—thanks should be voiced for this, because it furthers the solution of those problems which we are facing and which are linked with the policy we are implementing—that is, restructuring and democratization, which is first and foremost a policy for the young generation, it is a policy which concerns the young generation.

[Zamboch] Comrade Jakes also noted that in 1947 it was precisely Prague, where the progressive traditions of youth and student festivals originated. Talk also centered on what is waiting our delegates in Pyongyang. The atmosphere was festive, friendly, and comradely, and the atmosphere was just as pleasant before the departure by air this afternoon of a 150-member strong group of delegates, who were the first to depart from Prague to Pyongyang. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Husak Declares Assembly Session Closed
LD3006045989 Prague Television Service in Czech
1730 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] In a letter dated 29 June, President Gustav Husak notified the Presidium of the Federal Assembly that under Article 61 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, he declares the spring session of the Federal Assembly closed on 30 June.

Lenart Leaves for Working Visit to Belgrade
LD2806204889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left for Belgrade today. During his friendly working visit, he will meet with LCY officials to exchange experience of the work of the two fraternal parties at the present stage, and views on the development of the international situation, and to assess the possibilities for further development of party cooperation.

FRG's Genscher To Visit Prague 12 July
AU2706142689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
24 Jun 89 p 7

["z"-signed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] DPA announced that Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, plans to hold 2 days of talks in Prague in July on the changed situation in East-West relations. According to information from Bonn, regular consultations should open in Czechoslovakia on 12 July. The talks will concern the development of relations between the two countries since the federal chancellor's visit to Prague at the beginning of 1988, the opening of cultural centers, and other bilateral issues.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With FRG Concern
AU2706160389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
24 Jun 89 p 1

["fm"-signed report: "For Higher Exports"]

[Text] Levice (From our correspondent)—An agreement on long-term cooperation in the production of power-generating equipment was signed by representatives of the Skoda Plzen concern and the Deutsche Babcock AG from the FRG in the S.M. Kirov Slovak Power Engineering Works at Timace on Friday [23 June].

The aim of cooperation is to create conditions for the modernization of the production of boiler equipment in the Skoda concern and, thereby, increase the ability of joint orders to compete, as well as to make a better use of both partners' production capacities in supplying the two domestic markets. The agreement concerns, among other things, turbo-sets, steel structures, pressure parts of boilers, and supplier-engineering activity, all of which will be provided by the Skoda concern. The West German concern will supply, for instance, machinery, boiler components, fixtures, and pipes. The agreement is valid until 1993 and should help increase exports of Czechoslovak power-generating equipment.

Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Dam Issue Discussed

Comments on Hungary's Decision
AU2906105589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Jun 89 p 4

[Statement by Academician Vlastimil Barus, deputy to the People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly, at the 14th joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 20 June: "On the System of Hydropower Projects"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] I believe it is necessary to emphasize that no voter in our constituencies is indifferent today to the fate of the many years of joint building efforts by the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, the result of which is the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower project. [passage omitted]

I will not go into technical detail, but the fact is that this joint large-scale investment project has been prepared, together with Hungarian experts, since 1952, when government delegations of the two countries met for the first time to discuss this issue. That the implementation of this investment plan would represent a large-scale intervention in the environment was clear to both sides from the very beginning. Another fact is that, to a substantially greater degree, it is an intervention in the landscape of our territory, which also required exceptionally costly scientific and technical solutions on our, the Czechoslovak, part. [passage omitted]

Our scientists and technicians are prepared for, and do not shy away from, confrontation and the solution of new circumstances that may not have been known previously and that could seriously disrupt the environment of the Hungarian People's Republic or of our Republic. A problem arises, however, when the supposedly previously unknown so-called new circumstances turn out to be soluble, or when they are being solved already within the framework of the normal course and timetable of construction.

Our voters are justifiably asking who will bear the cost of the prolonged construction of the project. The answer is clear: This cost will be borne by the working people of the Hungarian People's Republic and Czechoslovakia, in

the form of lower growth of national income and, consequently, living standards. Scientists hold the unequivocal view that in the present situation it is impossible, by not completing the construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros hydropower project, to restore the affected territory to its original condition. Quite the contrary, it is absolutely legitimate to expect that the negative impact on the environment could become even greater, without bringing any economic benefit.

I emphasize that no one has ever concealed the fact that the construction of the dam project would claim victims in nature and the landscape. However, we did and continue to do everything conceivable to minimize them. It would be therefore pointless to further increase the losses in the social and economic sphere arising from the suspension or discontinuation of this project of genuine Czechoslovak-Hungarian friendship.

Hungarian Motives Dismissed

AU3006070389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
28 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by Engineer Magda Srncova, Bratislava: "Who Needs Higher Seismicity?; They Are Obscuring Clear Facts"]

[Excerpts] One of the arguments that is supposed to justify the Hungarian Government's decision to suspend construction of the Nagymaros hydroelectric power plant is the alleged lack of clarity about seismicity in the area of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects. [passage omitted] Movements of the earth surface in the Danube lowlands have been observed for almost 1,500 years and are meticulously recorded at various sources. [passage omitted]

At a joint conference in Bratislava in November 1965, Hungarian and Czechoslovak experts reached the conclusion that the territory of the Small Danube Lowlands to the west of Komarno belongs to the relatively calm areas of the Carpathian Basin and that, in the direction of Budapest, the level of seismicity declines further. According to the prominent Hungarian geologist Rethy, the seismotectonic line runs near the Nagymaros dam. It transpires from his data, however, that earthquakes in excess of 3 to 6 degrees MCS [presumably Mercalli scale] have not been detected here, nor in the wider surroundings, in the last 1,000 years. [passage omitted]

In the report of the Geophysical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences "On the Potential Earthquake Threat to the Gabčíkovo Hydropower Project" of 1977, it is said: "It is evident from the map of the distribution of earthquake epicenters that the occurrence of an earthquake epicenter or of a sismogenerating zone is not to be expected on the territory affected by the construction of the Gabčíkovo hydropower project, the likelihood of such an occurrence being almost zero. According to macroseismic observations over the historically known

period of 1,500 years, the intensity of seismic waves from the surrounding epicenters never exceeded 6 degrees MCS." [passage omitted]

On the basis of all these studies, the general designer safeguarded the necessary stability of the levees of the supply channel. [passage omitted]

It follows from all scientific background materials, calculations, and analyses that, from the very beginning of preparations for the utilization of the Danube, the question of seismicity has been at the center of attention. The assertions of the Hungarian side about "new" aspects in the area of seismicity with respect to the construction of Gabčíkovo or Nagymaros therefore do not hold water. The geological conditions of the Earth and our knowledge of them do not change from one session of the Parliament to the next. In many instances, we like to refer to the example of the more advanced countries in the world. Why do we not adopt Japan as our model in this case, a country which undeniably ranks among countries with the greatest seismicity. In spite of this fact, it is building tunnels under the sea, high-rise buildings, television transmitters, and the like. It is evident that Japan assesses the seismicity of its territory objectively and that it adapts itself to it. What is less clear, however, is why someone should want to exaggerate it in the case of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros hydropower project. Could it be that the current "wave" of growing seismicity serves our partners merely as a camouflage for their politically motivated reluctance to complete what has been started?

Hungary Wants Speedy Talks

AU3006095489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
28 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros: Documentation for Talks Has Been Handed Over"]

[Text] Bratislava—As we have already reported, the Hungarian side handed over documentation concerning talks on the Nagymaros water project on Monday [26 June]. Vladimír Lokvenc, plenipotentiary of the CSSR Government and the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic for the construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros system of water projects on the Danube, received it at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest.

In the spirit of the agreements arising from the talks between the CSSR premier and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic in Prague on 24 May, a group of experts headed by the pertinent deputy premiers is to objectively and rationally assess the latest circumstances which had led the Hungarian Government to its decision on 13 May to unilaterally suspend the construction of the water project system for 2 months.

When interviewed by CTK, Vladimir Lokvenc said that the documentation is comprised of the already reviewed number of suggestions made by government bodies of the Hungarian People's Republic, scientific institutes, and social organizations concerning the risks and ecological danger which the Hungarian Government considered prior to its decision. The documentation also contains a report by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the effect of the suspension, or if applicable, the completion of the Nagymaros section from the viewpoint of the environment, water quality, and seismology. These is the first documentation supplied by the Hungarian side since its unilateral suspension of construction. The Czechoslovak side, however, thinks that they do not contain any new circumstances which had not been explained by the two sides earlier. Nevertheless, the Czechoslovak side reserves itself time to study them and to set up the Czechoslovak part of the joint group of experts. During the present meeting in Budapest, the plenipotentiary extraordinary of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, conveyed the wishes of the Hungarian Government that the talks of the experts get under way as soon as possible.

Activist Havel Concerned About Expatriation
AU2906115789 Bonn DIE WELT in German
29 Jun 89 p 3

[Report on interview with CSSR writer Vaclav Havel by Manfred Schell in Prague on 23 June: "This Regime Is in a State of Internal Chaos"]

[Excerpt] The Czechoslovak dramatist and civil rights activist Vaclav Havel, 52, fears that he could be expatriated when he receives the Peace Prize of the Association of the German Book Trade in Frankfurt this fall. Havel said in an interview with DIE WELT in Prague: "Of course, I would like to come, but I doubt whether I will be able to come. At this point, I rather have the impression that it will be as it was with the Erasmus Prize." Havel was unable to receive this prize in the Netherlands in 1986.

Havel: "Above all, I have not had a passport for 20 years. I have repeatedly applied for a passport, the last time about 10 days ago. I attached to my application an invitation from President Mitterrand to take part in the ceremonies marking the anniversary of the great French Revolution. I also attached an invitation from Mr Christiansen of the Association of the German Book Trade, and several other significant invitations, and now I am eagerly waiting for an answer. If they tell me that I will not get a passport, everything will be clear and simple for me. If I get a passport, I will be in a predicament, not knowing whether I should risk such a trip, because there is always the danger that they will take away my citizenship, and then I would not be able to return to my country. If there is just a 1 percent risk of such a danger, I will not run the risk," the civil rights activist stressed. [passage omitted]

Zavadil-Led TU Delegation Leaves for Spain

Delegation Arrives

AU2706124689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
26 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Brief Domestic Reports" column]

[Text] A delegation of the Central Trade Union Council headed by its chairman Miroslav Zavadil flew to Spain for an official visit yesterday [25 June], at the invitation of Spain's Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions (CCOO). During its stay, it will exchange experience from trade union work in the two countries.

Talks With Spanish Union

AU2806151689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Delegation of the Central Trade Union Council in Spain"]

[Text] Madrid—An official delegation of the Central Trade Union Council [URO] led by its chairman Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, arrived in Madrid on Sunday [25 June] at the invitation of the Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions (CCOO).

The delegation met with CCOO General Secretary Antonio Guterrez and other members of the confederation's Secretariat on Monday [26 June]. They assessed possibilities of comprehensively intensifying relations between the two organizations. The two delegations also exchanged views on topical issues pertaining to the developments in the world and in the workers movement. At a gala, M. Zavadil presented CCOO Chairman Marcelino Camacho the A. Zapotocky Medal, awarded to him on the occasion of the latter's 70th birthday.

Zavadil met with Julio Anguita, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE], on the same day. In a friendly talk, they assessed the development of cooperation between the CPCZ and the PCE to date, and favored the further intensification of mutual contacts.

Unions Sign Cooperation Plan

AU3006093189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
28 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A plan for cooperation between the Central Trade Union Council [URO] and Spain's Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions [CCOO] was signed by URO Chairman Miroslav Zavadil and CCOO General Secretary Antonio Guterrez in Madrid on Tuesday [27 June].

Zavadil Confers With Austrian Counterpart
AU2806151489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] M. Zavadil, chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, held a working meeting with F. Verzetnitsch, chairman of the Austrian Trade Union Federation [OeGB], in Vienna on Sunday [25 June]. They briefed one another on the activities of their trade union organizations and assessed the possibility of expanding their cooperation further. The OeGB chairman accepted invitation to pay a working visit to Prague.

Portuguese Party Leader Continues Visit

Cunhal Interviewed

LD2806230789 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1630 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, who is in Czechoslovakia on a short official visit, has paid a visit to Bratislava, the Slovak capital. [passage omitted]

Peter Susko, an editor, has taken this opportunity to ask the general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party for a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Susko] Comrade General Secretary, could you characterize in a few words your visit to Czechoslovakia and its results?

[Cunhal, in Portuguese fading into superimposed Slovak translation] This visit to Czechoslovakia forms only one part of a great number of visits to the socialist countries of Europe. There is a very serious situation in the world. Many problems are emerging and it is in such contacts that my party, the Communist Party of Portugal, sees the possibility of acquiring information to enable us to draw correct conclusions about what is happening in the socialist states. As always, we have been received in Czechoslovakia as brothers, as real friends. The atmosphere was marked by the fraternal solidarity the Portuguese Communist Party feels toward the Czechoslovak Communist Party and vice versa, solidarity that was created and strengthened during the long years of struggles waged by both our parties, each in its own conditions, but with the common goal and ideals linking us together.

[Susko] You are also an important representative of the international communist movement. What, in your view, is the most important thing in the current stage?

[Cunhal] You have talked about representatives of the communist movement, but I think that today it is very difficult to assert that there is any representative of the world communist movement at all, because it includes within itself a number of various currents and is going

through a number of various difficulties arising from regional problems. The party to which I belong is, for instance, going through difficult moments as the legacy of the revolution that took place several years ago. My party does not share the views of some capitalist states, which are today saying that the revolutionary movement has found itself in the doldrums. On the contrary, I believe that the future belongs to socialism. [end recording]

Cunhal Departs 29 Jun

LD2906143189 Prague CTK in English
0957 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Bratislava June 29 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party Alvaro Cunhal left here today.

He paid a short official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Ethiopian Minister Makes Statement, Departs

AU2806172489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
26 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Departure of Ethiopian Guest; Joint Press Report on Minister B. Bayeh's Visit"]

[Text] Berhanu Bayeh, member of the Politburo of the Ethiopian Workers' Party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE], concluded his official visit to Czechoslovakia on Saturday [24 June]. He was seen off at Ruzyně Airport by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs.

A joint press report was released at the close of the visit, in which it is said, inter alia:

While assessing economic relations, the ministers stressed the need to improve mutually beneficial economic cooperation with the aim of tapping existing unused possibilities, and creating favorable conditions for the further development of these relations.

They positively assessed the attained level of cooperation in culture and education, and agreed that it is necessary to further improve the quality of this cooperation.

They noted with satisfaction that the joint efforts of socialist states, progressive countries, realistically-minded political forces of the West, and various democratic movements within the framework of the new political thinking are yielding specific positive results. The transition from confrontation to dialogue has been initiated, first steps leading toward actual disarmament have been taken, confidence is increasing, and mutual cooperation is expanding.

Berhanu Bayeh expressed full support for the constructive peace initiatives of the socialist countries. He voiced appreciation for the foreign policy of the CSSR and its share in the building of the common European home. In this connection, he stressed the topical character of the proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member countries which had been put forward by Milos Jakes.

Evaluating the present situation in Africa, they affirmed the unshakeable solidarity of their countries with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and called for a successful conclusion of the decolonization process in Namibia in full harmony with the plan approved by the United Nations.

They agreed that the racist policy of the Pretoria regime remains the basic cause of tension in southern Africa, and they called resolutely for the complete eradication of the inhuman system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa.

The two ministers paid special attention to the development of the situation in the area of the Horn of Africa, with particular emphasis on the activity of Ethiopia, which is aimed at expanding relations of cooperation and at reinforcing stability in this part of the African continent. Jaromir Johanes confirmed the principled stand of the CSSR Government on preserving the territorial integrity and unity of Ethiopia, and welcomed and supported the new initiative of the Ethiopian Parliament of 5 June for a peaceful and lasting solution to the problem in the north of Ethiopia. He also spoke appreciatively of Ethiopia's permanently active foreign policy in the Organization of African Unity and the Nonaligned Movement.

The Protocol on Cooperation Between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the CSSR and the PDRE was signed during the visit.

The talks between the two ministers were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Berhanu Bayeh invited Jaromir Johanes to visit Ethiopia. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Indra Receives Australian Parliamentarians
AU2906112789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Foundation for the Further Development of Contacts; Comrade Alois Indra Received Australian Deputies"]

[Text] Prague—Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received in Prague yesterday [26 June], an Australian parliamentary delegation headed by Senate Chairman Kerry Walter Sibraa, which is paying an official visit to the CSSR.

Alois Indra voiced appreciation for the level of relations between Czechoslovakia and Australia, which have noticeably revived in the past 5 years. Neither of the two countries regards the difference in the sociopolitical systems to be the hindrance to cooperation. In this connection, he also said that the visit by the Australian deputies is a historic moment for establishing official parliamentary relations, which can contribute to further mutual understanding, restoration of trust, and the development of contacts.

Kerry Walter Sibraa proposed a regular exchange of parliamentary delegations between Czechoslovakia and Australia. He explained the country's foreign political orientation which works toward maintaining peace and resolving all conflicts by political instruments. An international conference on banning the production and testing of chemical weapons is slated to be held in Australia this September. The chairman of the Senate also favored a more extensive cooperation between the two countries within the UN framework.

In a discussion, the Australian deputies expressed great interest in the CSSR's external economic relations and in the possibility to expand trade exchange and contacts between the CSSR and Australia. They also were informed in detail about Czechoslovakia's standpoint on initiatives designed to resolve problems connected with the creation and protection of the environment, including the proposal by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to convene a meeting of premiers of countries neighboring with Czechoslovakia, which would address ecological problems in this part of Europe.

K.W. Sibraa invited representatives of the Czechoslovak Parliament to visit Australia. The invitation was accepted with thanks, the date will be set through diplomatic channels.

The talks were attended by Deputy Chairmen of the CSSR Federal Assembly Jan Janik, Bohuslav Kucera, Jozef Simuth, and Zbynek Zalman, as well as by Vaclav Stafek, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Nations and chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee.

Lawry Wilson Herron, Australia's ambassador to the CSSR, was present.

Press Notes Commercial Ties With Chile To Resume
AU2706142389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
24 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A delegation of Chilean representatives of commerce and industry headed by Daniel Platosky-Turek, president of the Chilean National Chamber, conferred in Prague [date not given] with Jaroslav Jakubec, chairman

of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Czechoslovak trade partners. The Czechoslovak side voiced interest in restoring contacts at the level of chambers of commerce and their member enterprises.

Legal Assistance Protocol Signed With Bulgaria
AU2906111589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A protocol on the principles of further cooperation between the Ministries of Justice of the Czech Socialist Republic, the Slovak Socialist Republic, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in legal assistance was signed in Sofia on Monday [26 June].

Stepan Addresses Prague Party Organization
AU2806100289 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech
20 Jun 89 p 2

["vp"-signed report: "Going Onto the Offensive; From the Speech by Miroslav Stepan, Member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Leading Secretary of the CPCZ City Committee, at the Eighth Session of the CPCZ City Committee," held in Prague on 19 June]

[Excerpt] At the outset, Comrade Stepan noted that, gradually, the attention of Prague Communists focuses more and more on preparations for the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress, and that the interest of the public in questions and problems with which the congress will deal and to which it will give the expected answer is also evident. The residents of Prague receive with satisfaction the specific steps being taken to implement the conclusions of the city party conference. All these are positive features bearing out that we are moving away from the struggle "against something" and that the struggle "for something" is becoming the basic task.

However, these processes are far from being unambiguous. They are being slowed down by the passivity of some party members and even party organizations. Restructuring in the economic sphere is not proceeding at a satisfactory pace because managerial staffs and the central sphere—the founders of state enterprises—in particular are not devoting themselves with full responsibility and the requisite activity to the establishment of state enterprises, and to their preparation for the full-fledged operation of the new principles of the economic mechanism from 1 January next year.

"A certain degree of indifference lingers on also in the activity of national committees," Comrade Stepan went on to say. "It is impossible to fail to see that some officials are marking time and waiting to see what the future has in store for them. They only demand a resolute course of action by the central bodies, as though there was nothing to implement at the level of the city, municipal districts, and the place of work or residence...."

Comrade Stepan said further that the so-called informal groups are changing their tactics. Having found out that frontal, open confrontation will get them nowhere, they have started to seek legalization through the activity of their members in social and special interest organizations of the National Front during various events. They exploit in a parasitical way citizens' interest in the solution to the city's problems.

Furthermore, Comrade Stepan spoke about the activation of party work, about embarking on a more vigorous and accelerated course of action. One must not permit diverse interpretation of the party line and stand idly by and watch how some Communists "cultivate" their private view, how they change fundamental party decisions. Party bodies must assume clear political positions on specific problems and ways of solving them, which must not be discussed just within the party, but with the broad aktiv, with labor collectives, and in National Front organizations. In short, it is necessary to return to everyday contact with primary organizations, with the people. We consider it particularly essential that we go over into the political offensive. [passage omitted]

Leaders Send Birthday Greetings to Tomasek
LD2906180189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak has sent to Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, a letter of congratulations on his 90th birthday tomorrow.

The letter praises the active participation of believers in everything achieved by our nations in the past decades, and expresses the conviction that Cardinal Tomasek, as a leading representative of the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, will help in this joint effort.

Also Milos Jakes, chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovakia, has sent Cardinal Tomasek a letter of congratulations. He also expresses the conviction that the Archbishop of Prague, as an important representative of the Roman Catholic Church, will support the implementation of the noble aims of the continued socialist development of our homeland and the reinforcement of peace in the world.

Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec has also congratulated Cardinal Tomasek. In his letter, he praises in particular Cardinal Tomasek's life work—everything that contributes to the reinforcement of the so necessary confidence between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, and to the expansion of the contribution of believers to the peaceful building of a socially just society.

Fojtik Inaugurates New Radio Director
LD2706205689 Prague CTK in English
1817 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 27 (CTK)—Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan Fojtik inaugurated here Tuesday, new General Director of Czechoslovak Radio Karel Kvapil.

Jan Fojtik appreciated the work of former General Director Jan Risko, who held the post since 1970, and remains chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists.

Deputy on Violation of Believers' Rights
AU2906105989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Jun 89 p 4

[Statement by Stanislav Toms, chief editor of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, deputy to the People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly, at the 14th joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 20 June: "Believers and Human Rights"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In my capacity as member of the Czechoslovak People's Party and member of its Central Committee Presidium, I would like to draw attention to one partial, yet highly important human rights issue in our country. It concerns the more than 6 million citizens who are believers and who are affiliated in 19 churches and religious communities. Through the influence of foreign propaganda and, partly, also through the influence of some internal forces, the question of the observance of the rights of believers in our country has, already several times, moved to the forefront of interest in the Czechoslovak People's Party, and introduces certain unrest into its ranks, even though the crushing majority of its members help sincerely and with dedication to build our socialist homeland. [passage omitted]

Milos Jakes' words at the 14th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee session about the consistent observance of duties and rights should be imprinted in their memory not only by believers, but by all other citizens. I will give an example: The registration of believers, that is, the keeping of records about membership in churches or religious communities, was abolished in Czechoslovakia in 1954. True, the relevant rubric disappeared from questionnaires. However, even today some of our members complain that in the personal file at the workplace or in the recommendation of application for admission to a higher-level school this information figures anyway. This practice should be discontinued, in our opinion.

We in the Czechoslovak People's Party demand from our members that they observe the duties of the citizen of the socialist state, and they then reproach us for not protecting their rights guaranteed by the constitution. I therefore welcome the fact that our government wants to resolve, and is already, solving questions concerning the rights of believers and religion, including by means of planned legislative changes. This is the only right reply to domestic and foreign critics.

Funds for Private Foreign Travel Doubled
AU2606155789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Frantisek Pavelka, CSSR deputy minister of finance; Jiri Bruk, general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank; and Petr Pastyrik, director of the Czechoslovak State Bank branch in Prague-9, by Pavel Paral and Eva Sadilkova: "How Foreign Currency Allocations Are Awarded;" date, place not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] Interest in foreign travel increases year after year. The number of applications for foreign currency allocations for travel to nonsocialist countries, in particular, is growing. At the same time, however, the number of citizens is also increasing who complain about not having been granted a foreign currency allocation. We have therefore invited Engineer Frantisek Pavelka, candidate of sciences, CSSR deputy minister of finance; Engineer Jiri Bruk, general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank; and Engineer Petr Pastyrik, director of the Czechoslovak State Bank branch in Prague-9, to a discussion about the possibilities of Czechoslovak citizens' foreign travel within the framework of unorganized tourism.

[Question] What are the bank's possibilities to satisfy applicants for a foreign currency allocation?

Bruk: They depend on the limit at our disposal. Converted to Czechoslovak korunas, this year's limit amounted to 652 million. Citizens' demands totalled Kcs2.947 billion. Of this, demands for first trips—that is, demands submitted by those who have not traveled to a nonsocialist country so far—amounted to Kcs2.303 billion. On the whole, 389,000 people applied for a foreign currency allocation this year, compared with 180,000 applicants last year. It follows from this that the bank is able to satisfy roughly 25 percent of applicants who have not yet traveled to a nonsocialist state. [passage omitted]

Many applicants are asking us about our fulfillment of the government's policy statement, in which it said that it would create greater possibilities for foreign travel. This year this was fulfilled by the doubling of the foreign currency limit earmarked for individual tourism. Last year we satisfied more than 40,000 applicants for individual tourism, this year we can satisfy about 80,000 people. But in view of the substantial increase in applications for individual tourism, the number of those we are unable to satisfy has increased from 140,000 to 300,000. [passage omitted]

Pavelka: Let me cite the statistics for last year. A total of 42,000 citizens travelled on the basis of a foreign currency allocation; 88,000 citizens on the basis of purpose-bound donations [of foreign exchange by foreign nationals]; and 11,000 citizens on the basis of foreign currency accounts, which became available in April. In addition, 97,000

people traveled abroad on the basis of an invitation, that is, without any foreign currency funds, and 67,000 people traveled abroad with a tour agency. Aside from this, around 260,000 people annually travel abroad on duty. When we compare these figures, we will see that there are many possibilities for our citizens to travel [to nonsocialist countries]. Foreign currency allocations account only for the smallest portion of this. [passage omitted]

[Question] What are, in your opinion, the causes of the great interest in travel to nonsocialist countries?

Pavelka: About 7 million Czechoslovaks annually travel abroad as tourists, of whom only 300,000 travel to nonsocialist countries. It is apparent that for a relatively long time, the orientation of tourism was very one-sided and that there is a certain hunger for trips to nonsocialist countries. Second, we must also acknowledge that it is not always tourism that matters, but also the possibility to shop. [passage omitted]

[Question] Would it not be possible to guarantee that every citizen can travel abroad at least once every 3 or 5 years?

Bruk: This issue was debated during negotiations on this year's limit. We were even contemplating abolishing foreign currency allocations and moving over to systemic measures in releasing foreign currency for travel to nonsocialist states, similar to those which apply to contacts with socialist countries. We figured out, however, that to satisfy everyone who has not traveled [to a nonsocialist country] in the last 5 years, we would need \$100-120 million. At present we have at our disposal \$32 million. This does not allow us, for the time being, to change the existing system. The sum of \$120 million is equivalent to the sum yielded by active tourism. It is impossible to use this entire sum for unorganized tourism. We would not have anything left for organized tourism, for improving the conditions for active tourism, and so forth. [passage omitted]

Authorities Detain Industrial Saboteurs

LD2906192389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] After extensive investigation, security and prosecution bodies have given an explanation for a series of fires started in production units in Bohemia and Moravia since 1986, and the closely connected murder of 17-year-old man.

As the press spokesman from the Federal Interior Ministry said in a statement today, there was a direct damage to property in socialist ownership exceeding 50 million Kcs, and the national economy suffered further important negative consequences.

This criminal activity was committed by around 20-year-old members of an organized group who are now in custody for the criminal deed of sabotage.

Four persons, all around 40 years old, have also been detained recently. They are justifiably under suspicion of inciting, directing, and organizing these acts of sabotage. It has been found out that all those detained have close links with the so-called independent initiatives known for their antisocialist activities.

The public will be informed of the further course of investigation.

Juvenile Crime Figures for Czech Republic AU2706093789 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Jun 89 p 5

["(BAR)"]-signed report: "Juveniles and Criminal Activity"]

[Text] Last year on the territory of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR], a total of 20,630 criminal and minor offenses were committed by juveniles in the 6- to 18-year-old age group. This means that a more significant drop in juvenile crime did not come about in 1988 (only 718 offenses fewer than the previous year). A more significant fall in this crime rate took place only in the East Bohemia and South Moravia regions, however, against this a continuing increase was recorded in the Central Bohemia, South Bohemia, and North Moravia regions. Most often, young people commit property-related crime and, in this regard, juveniles committed 8,940 criminal offenses and 6,972 minor offenses in 1988. The fact that young people are increasing the intensity and brutality of violent crime against the life and health of citizens is also disturbing. Another serious problem is non-alcoholic addiction. Up to 31 December 1988, members of the police force recorded 4,983 non-alcoholic addicts in the Czech SR, of these 109 were below the age of 15 and 609 were in the 15 to 18-year-old age group. Young people mostly abuse synthetic volatile materials (for example, toluene and perchlorethylene), and 30-35 juveniles die in this way every year. It is necessary to seek the reason for juvenile criminality in insufficient upbringing and care, in negative family examples, and in the environment, but also in the fruitless utilization of free time.

AIDS Cases in CSSR Increase to 17 LD2706210389 Prague CTK in English 1725 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 27 (CTK)—There were 145 HIV-positive persons in Czechoslovakia up to May 31, 1989, seventeen of whom already suffered from AIDS. Five of them died and 49 were foreigners who have left Czechoslovakia, representatives of the Czech Ministry of Health and Social Affairs told newsmen here Tuesday.

They pointed out that the overall number of HIV-positives in Czechoslovakia is estimated at 500-1,000, adding that according to an inquiry, both the knowledge and sexual habits of the Czechoslovak population are

still favourable for further spreading of the disease, e.g. only 6 percent of the questioned are aware of the risks of AIDS, and only 35.2 percent of them use condoms.

The absolutely inadequate attitudes of the respondents towards the infected persons ensue from insufficient knowledge about how the disease spreads, e.g. 41 percent of the questioned are of the opinion that the infected persons should be isolated from society, etc.

The above results indicate that there are still many things to be done in the sphere of health education.

The Czech Ministry of Health representatives said that all HIV-positive persons are being administered Azidothymidine (AZT) which prolongs life. The Czechoslovak Lachema enterprise has prepared already a Czechoslovak version of AZT so that further export of this medication will not be necessary.

Kessler, Lushev Discuss Pact Forces Policy
*LD2906163489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1530 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The most recent meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev is an expression of the traditional cooperation and fraternal solidarity between the parties and peoples of the USSR and the GDR. This was stressed by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, in Berlin today. The talks between the leading representatives of the SED and the CPSU once again reinforced the common goals of both countries and peoples and of their armed forces in the struggle for peace and in the further development of socialist society. Erich Honecker's visit to the USSR has proved convincingly that the steadfast friendship and solidarity between the socialist German state and the Soviet Union is stronger than ever.

Kessler and Lushev noted with satisfaction that a series of positive changes are discernible in international relations. This happy development is the result of the dynamic foreign policy of the USSR, the GDR, and the other socialist countries, and of the constant efforts of numerous social forces throughout the world concerned with securing peace. In this connection, the interlocutors referred to the diverse initiatives and unprecedented prior concessions on the part of the Warsaw Pact states. They also brought specific proposals to the Vienna negotiations, providing for a radical reduction in armament and armed forces to agreed upper limits. They expressed their expectation that initial results from the negotiations can be achieved as soon as possible.

They described the proposals submitted by U.S. President George Bush at the NATO summit meeting at the end of May as a first response, pointing in the right direction, to the significant activities and specific unilateral disarmament measures on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Referring in detail to cooperation in the Warsaw Pact, Kessler said that the socialist German state will work actively for the universal deepening of the link of comradeship. The GDR and its Armed Forces will at all times fulfill their duties in the alliance of the socialist military coalition, in the interest of the joint forces.

Lushev underlined the responsibility of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries for the collective protection of socialism and peace. In view of NATO's determination to hold fast to the outmoded military doctrine of nuclear deterrence, which provides for the first use of nuclear weapons, and in view of the striving for military superiority, a high degree of caution remains

advisable. Referring to the defensive character of the joint military doctrine, he stressed the determination to work speedily for a considerable reduction in the level of the military balance.

Commentary on Beijing 'Counterrevolutionary Riots'
*AU2906143689 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 27 Jun 89 p 5*

[Bo Adam commentary: "When Looking at the Pictures from Beijing"]

[Text] Last weekend, GDR television broadcast the Chinese documentary "The Counterrevolutionary Riot in Beijing on 3 and 4 June 1989." Almost 45 minutes of cruel pictures. Anyone who is not blind could see with his own eyes who the people were that escalated the tensions in Beijing at the beginning of June, which threatened to throw China into chaos.

Remembering the words about the "Army's bloody massacre of peaceful demonstrators"—for weeks they had been propagated by Western media and had also reached us—I saw hundreds of unarmed soldiers and soldiers with their machine guns slung on their backs, who, jammed in a crowd, did not defend themselves even when they were beaten by the people. This was before 4 June.

I saw a column of Army members, retreating on foot, who were the target of stones thrown by demonstrators—and who did not defend themselves. And because they did not defend themselves, the attackers grew bolder, dragged individual soldiers out of the column and beat them: they did not defend themselves. This was during the night of 3 June. I saw a military truck whose driver and passenger were stoned on a street near Tiananmen Square on the morning of 4 June, because they did not defend themselves. I saw the burned-out tanks, in which the crews had burned to death because they did not shoot their way free and did not run over the people surrounding them.

And I ask myself: Are these the actions of an Army that was ordered to run everything down? Or are these not much more the actions of an Army that was ordered to keep calm as long as possible and at any cost?

Everyone who wanted to see was able to count: 60 destroyed army vehicles in one street, 24 in another, 43 in a third—not in battle or after a fight but as if they had been parked one behind the other. He could see weapons captured by the "peaceful demonstrators," captured armored vehicles whose machine guns spit fire, burned soldiers who were then exhibited.

This was the "movement for democracy?" This was the population of Beijing, which has 10 million inhabitants? No! This was an extremist minority, who killed and burned in a barbarous way. Not a minority of innovators of socialism, but of people who wanted to dig its grave.

A last thought when looking at the pictures from Beijing. I do not know one single state in the world and no army that would sacrifice itself in such a way. I try to imagine how the Bundeswehr, the FRG Border Troops, the GG-9 unit, and the police would react if, for instance, the squatters in the Hafenstrasse in Hamburg or somewhere else were to pose with a single machine gun. And I imagine the commentaries by all the FRG media. Everyone is invited to continue this train of thought.

Honecker Message to Berlin Nuclear-Free Meeting
AU2906204989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28 Jun 89 p 1

[ND report: "Open Dialogue for Securing Peace; Greetings Message From Erich Honecker to the Participants in the Meeting of the International Liaison Office for Nuclear-Free Zones"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council and general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), has conveyed the following greetings message to the participants in the meeting of the International Liaison Office for Nuclear-Free Zones, which started in Berlin on Tuesday [27 June]:

Dear ladies and gentlemen, dear friends,

One year after the International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones in Berlin, which developed into a universal peace forum, the GDR is again the host of representatives from numerous countries of all continents and international organizations that want to discuss measures to secure peace by continuing disarmament, above all to free mankind from nuclear weapons, in an open dialogue.

Permit me to thank you for your participation and to convey to you sincere wishes for the successful course of the meeting.

The turn for the better initiated in international relations is characterized by the ratification and implementation of the INF Treaty. This increases the topicality of the ideas about establishing nuclear-free and other zones with reduced armament as a way of freeing the earth from the hellish mass destruction weapons for all times.

The honor which you pay us by your participation in this meeting encourages the GDR, perseveringly and rich in initiatives, to continue the policy of establishing a world in which not violence but peaceful coexistence and cooperation are the supreme guideline of the peoples' lives, which it has consistently pursued since its establishment 40 years ago.

I greet the meeting and welcome you in this spirit!

E. Honecker.

Kleiber Receives Slovak Interior Minister

AU2906111789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 27 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Experiences on Work of Local State Authorities; Talk With Slovak Interior Minister"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), had a friendly talk with Stefan Lazar, minister of the interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic, on Monday [26 June]. The guest is in the GDR for an exchange of experiences on the work of the local state authorities.

Guenther Kleiber paid tribute to the high level of relations between the GDR and the CSSR in all fields of public life, and stressed that the results of the meeting between the country's leading representatives in Prague in May have stimulated cooperation. He briefed his guest on experiences and results in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and on the tasks in the further preparation of the 12th party congress arising from the deliberations of the eighth session of the SED Central Committee.

In the course of the talk, Stefan Lazar reported on the activities of the working people of his country to prove the values of socialism even more convincingly, and to further increase its social and economic attractiveness. He expects a great deal of the initiated exchange of experiences, he stated. The delegation headed by him studies experiences of the 1989 municipal elections, and acquaints itself with results of a municipal policy close to the citizens in Berlin and in Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk.

Dr Harry Moebis, state secretary in the GDR Council of Ministers, and Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR, participated in the talk.

Tisch Receives WFTU General Secretary

AU2906204089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "World Federation of Trade Unions Increases Struggle for Detente and Disarmament"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation, had a friendly talk in Berlin on Tuesday [27 June], with Ibrahim Zakhariyah, general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), who is in Berlin for the meeting of the International Liaison Office for Nuclear-Free Zones. During an exchange of views, the two sides discussed topical issues of the international trade union movement. Special attention was devoted to the WFTU's increased work for peace, for the rights and interests of the working people, for national independence and social progress. Both sides stressed that a secure peace is the decisive precondition for social protection, for the

happiness and the well-being of the working people in the world. In this spirit and in implementing the resolutions of the 11th WFTU Congress held in Berlin, the WFTU, in alliance with all progressive and peace-loving forces of the international trade union movement, advocates detente, disarmament, and international security, and unreservedly supports the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states which are characterized by reason and realism. [passage omitted]

Sofia City Party Delegation Visits Berlin

AU2906204489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28 Jun 89 p 8

[ND report: "Delegation From Sofia Is in Our City"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Berlin Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], a delegation of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by City Committee Secretary Stayko Stoyanov, is staying in the GDR capital. The Bulgarian comrades are studying experiences and results of the work of the Berlin party organization in leading the unified socialist education system and in quickly putting scientific-technical achievements into practice.

During a friendly meeting in the bezirk leadership, Horst Oswald, secretary of the bezirk leadership, briefed the Sofia delegation on the efforts of the Berlin Communists and all working people of the capital city to establish—through high performances in all fields of society in the 40th year of the GDR's existence and in preparation of the 12th SED Congress—the preconditions for successfully continuing the course of the unity of economic and social policy.

Spokesman Condemns Apartheid in South Africa

LD2906194989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1200 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a statement today, Dr Denis Ruh, deputy spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, characterized the death sentences imposed in the third instance on the 13 men and 1 woman of the "Upington 25" as an act especially characteristic of the apartheid system in South Africa [RSA]. Their active political work against racism and apartheid alone, served as a basis for this shameful judgment. Starting from the principles of humanity, justice, and the right to life, the GDR calls decisively for the death sentences to be lifted and the "Upington 25" to be released without delay, the spokesman stated.

With this inhuman action, the Botha regime is showing that arbitrary acts in the judiciary and the persecution of all opposition forces are still daily practice in the RSA, and the most elementary human rights are being violated. The GDR once again resolutely demands for the elimination of the apartheid system, as well as the immediate and conditionless release of all political prisoners in the RSA.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Angola Agreement

AU2906202389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28 Jun 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Satisfaction in the GDR at the Agreement in Angola; Declaration of the Foreign Ministry Spokesman"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The agreement between the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola on the cease-fire in the People's Republic of Angola, achieved at the summit of African presidents and prime ministers in Gbadolite (Zaire), was received with satisfaction in the GDR, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, told foreign correspondents in Berlin on Tuesday [27 June]. It is an important step on the road toward a peaceful settlement of armed confrontation and toward the reduction of tensions in the region. At the same time, the agreement is a contribution to consolidating the country's independence and national unity, he stated.

The spokesman stressed that the Angolan Government's constructive and flexible course aimed at securing the Angolan people's interests was the decisive factor in putting an end to bloodshed. Now it has to be hoped that development in peace and security can be initiated, while strictly adhering to the agreement that has been made and stopping any external interference in Angola's internal affairs.

In conclusion, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer affirmed the GDR's great appreciation of the joint struggle of Angola and other African states for peace, internal stability, and social progress. It will continue to stand in solidarity by the Angolan Government in the solution of the country's problems.

Head of Observer Group to Namibia Interviewed

AU3006102389 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 27 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Ambassador Hans-Georg Schleicher, head of the GDR observer group to Namibia, by Maritta Tkalec: "Namibia on the Path Toward Independence"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] BZ: You are the head of the GDR observer group to Namibia to monitor the country's transition to independence. What are the tasks of this group?

Schleicher: Like a number of other states, the GDR has sent observers to Windhoek in connection with the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia's transition to independence. We have the task of observing this process in Namibia and of collecting first-hand information.

At the same time, it cannot be overlooked that our presence supports the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia. This is a consistent continuation of our

decade-long support for Namibia's liberation struggle. Another task entails getting a picture of the situation in the country through varied contacts with politically and economically influential forces and thus preparing economic, political, and other relations with independent Namibia.

Important Bases Have Now Been Established

BZ: The first weeks of the process of decolonization were overshadowed by military conflicts between South African troops and fighters of the South West African People's Organization. How do you assess the situation today, almost 3 months after the beginning of the independence process?

Schleicher: The events at the beginning of April seriously endangered the independence process. But finally the determination of all parties involved in the agreement to settle the conflict in southwest Africa made sure that this process was fully put into motion again about mid-May, through the intensified work of the UN Transition Assistance Group, UNTAG, and that it can take its normal course, even though it has been considerably delayed. [passage omitted]

A Complicated International Operation

BZ: In view of the potential of conflict and the size of the country—Namibia is eight times as large as the GDR—can UNTAG effectively monitor the implementation of the agreements and ensure fair elections? How do you assess cooperation between UNTAG and the South African Administration?

Schleicher: The work in Namibia is one of the biggest actions that has ever been undertaken by the United Nations, a very complicated operation that is taking place

with the participation of a great number of states, which does not make it easier. However, one can already note that the presence of UNTAG has not only had an visual effect so far, but is also contributing to stabilizing the situation and also to the fact that the expression of political opinions and political activities can take place in a considerably freer way. UNTAG has the complicated task of preparing the elections together with the South African Administration and of holding them, if possible, in November as planned. This means that the South African administration is basically responsible and UNTAG exerts an influence on the conditions under which the elections are to take place and monitors the entire process. In this respect, it has been shown that this is possible only through daily arguments with the administration, which, despite its declared impartiality, represents and wants to enforce certain interests. There have been some encouraging specific examples of compromises.

New Christian Democratic Presidium Members

AU2906202189 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT
in German 27 Jun 89 p 1

[Excerpts] Burgscheidungen—Yesterday [26 June], the Main Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] met for its sixth session in Burgscheidungen. The discussions focused on the increasing corresponsibility of the Christian Democrats in the towns and villages and on the results in implementing the decisions of the 16th party congress in the 40th year of the GDR. [passage omitted]

The Main Executive Committee elected Siegfried Berghaus, member of the Main Executive Committee and chairman of the CDU Berlin Bezirk Association, as member of the Main Executive Committee Presidium; Manfred Gawlik, member of the Main Executive Committee and chairman of the CDU Magdeburg Bezirk Association, as member of the Presidium and secretary of the Main Executive Committee; and Juergen Klingbeil, deputy minister of trade and supply, as member of the Main Executive Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

Further on National Assembly Proceedings

Official on Hard Currency

LD2806163489 Budapest MTI in English
1358 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Over the past one and a half years, Hungarian citizens spent 2.5 billion USD abroad, Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi said in his report to parliament on Tuesday.

This is an estimate, a National Tourism Bureau (OIH) official told MTI-Econews.

According to official figures, 629 million USD was spent on tourism in 1988, this amount was only 185 million USD in 1987, the OIH official said.

The 629 million USD (last year's figure) includes so-called individual "tourist currency" which Hungarian citizens can buy from the national bank of Hungary every three years for private trips—at the current selling rate, this comes to the hard-currency countervalue of 22,500 forints/USD 363/plus 7,100 forints/USD 115/ to cover fuel costs, per person—the costs of package tours and official tours, and the amounts withdrawn by citizens from convertible travel accounts. Within this, the largest item is the travel allowance: in 1988, this was USD 393 million (in 1987: USD 68 million), the amount withdrawn from travel accounts—to which hard currency can be deposited by relatives and acquaintances of Hungarian citizens abroad—was 79 million USD in 1988 (in 1987: USD 27 million), and the amount used by travel agencies for package tours was the smallest, USD 35 million (in 1987: USD 37 million). However, the OIH official did not preclude the possibility that Hungarians can get access to a lot more hard currency from illegal earnings abroad and from black market sources.

OIH figures reveal that in 1988, the number of trips abroad from Hungary (a country with 10.4 million inhabitants) amounted to a total of 10,796,736. Of this number, 7,471,463 were to destinations in socialist countries, and 3,325,273 to destinations in Western countries.

In 1988, the number of Hungarians travelling abroad was one and a half times more than in 1987. Within this, there was a 335-per-cent increase in trips to Western countries.

In 1988, USD receipts from tourism amounted to 668 million USD, about 20 per cent more than the previous year. Meanwhile, the balance surplus fell back to 39 million USD from 369 million USD in 1987. The OIH official said that this year, hard-currency receipts could amount to 720 million USD. Over the first four months of the year, hard-currency receipts increased by 20 per cent a month, and during the summer months, a significant surplus is normally effected.

Over the first four months of 1989, officially-registered hard-currency expenditure was 445.9 million USD, over 4 times more than the currency spent over the corresponding period of last year.

Talks With IMF Underway

LD2806213789 Budapest MTI in English
1951 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—Talks between Hungary and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are under way and are expected to yield an agreement in July, Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi told MTI at a press conference in the break of today's parliamentary session.

Mr Bekesi added that IMF experts had accepted the scheme worked out by the government since the previous session of parliament for reducing the central budget deficit by 5,000 million forints. The IMF experts, however, still had some reservations about Hungary's credit monetary policies.

Answering another question, Mr Bekesi said that whilst working out the outline of the budgetary reform, he had met representatives of all opposition organizations, and some of their proposals had been integrated into the scheme. The dialogue will continue, Mr Bekesi said.

Modifications to Defense Law

LD2906220289 Budapest MTI in English
1625 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—At the Thursday session of the Hungarian National Assembly, several proposals were raised in the debate on the modification to the defence law, so the defence committee of parliament held a session to review these motions while the parliamentary session dealt with related interpellations.

Miklos Varga, MP for Veszprem County, asked the minister of the interior about the withdrawal of weapons for self-defence. He thinks citizens own too many such weapons, which makes the public uneasy.

Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, said in his reply that he could understand Mr Varga's worry, but pointed out that this problem is no longer free of political connotations. Mr Horvath said that, contrary to the figure of 100,000 mentioned in the interpellation, only 19,687 individuals own guns for self-defence. The other privately-owned weapons are owned not by political organizations and associations, but by members of hunting societies.

The current system of regulations in Hungary is similar to that in several West European countries, inasmuch as citizens holding public functions and official posts have priority when it comes to issuing permits. Police carefully and constantly check the lifestyle and conduct of people who own guns, as well as other circumstances in

connection with keeping guns. On the basis of such checks, permits are withdrawn in 600-700 cases a year. The minister of the interior pointed out that the National Assembly decided at its December session last year to regulate the owning of weapons by means of a law.

He said the preparation of this law was nearly complete. Until then, to reassure the public, the decree of the Ministry of the Interior on guns will be supplemented by another clause on expanding the range of conditions under which weapons for self-defence can be withdrawn.

The MP accepted the answer to his interpellation, and parliament approved it with four votes against and 10 abstentions.

Defense Law Debate To Continue

LD2906220689 Budapest MTI in English
2030 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—Interrupting question time, the National Assembly returned to the discussion on the modification to the defence law.

MPs debated how long civilian service should be, and whether a civilian or a military authority, or perhaps one belonging to the Ministry of the Interior, should have the right to decide who is entitled to do civilian service.

The prolonged debate was adjourned by the speaker at 7 pm. He announced that the debate would continue on Friday [30 June] morning.

Military Service Reduced

LD3006084789 Budapest MTI in English
0737 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—The Hungarian National Assembly resumed its fourth working day on Friday morning, with the debate over the amendment of the defence law.

After the unproductive debate of the previous day, conciliatory talks were held between Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, and respective parliamentary committees in the late night hours. An agreement was reached for reducing the period of the military service (both the armed and civilian) by two months compared to that originally proposed.

The agenda of Friday's session also includes the discussion of the bill on the amendment of the penal code and the bill presented on the amendment of the land law. Several interpellations and questions are also left for this working day.

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0705 GMT on 30 June carries a live relay of the National Assembly debates. The proposal that the duration of civilian service be 28 months was accepted with 11 abstentions and

1 vote against. The proposal that the combined duration of military service not exceed 28 months was accepted with 2 votes against and 2 abstentions. The bill to amend the defense law was adopted with 1 vote against and 15 abstentions.]

Amended Law Outlined

LD3006132489 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Excerpts] We are going over to the parliament building. The reporters are Gyorgi B. Kiraly and Pal Toth.

[Kiraly] the National Assembly has adopted the amendments to the Defense Law and the penal code. [passage omitted]

[Toth] the duration of military service is a uniform 28 months, in the case of both armed and unarmed military service and in the case of civilian service. Properly speaking, the decision is the result of a clever compromise which the government submitted to the Defense Committee yesterday evening, and to the plenary session this morning. Obviously this, and press reactions, explain the statement of Mrs Robert Jakab to the effect that we do not have to be ashamed about having debated this law for 3 days. As she said, the debate in the FRG on this same law lasted for 6 months.

[Kiraly] The combined duration of reserve military service, in the case of reserve officers, ensigns, and NCOs, cannot exceed 16 months. In the case of [word indistinct] and soldiers this is 10 months. A person liable to military service and who has completed 24 months of unarmed military service can be called up altogether for 4 months' service.

[Toth] The quick decision was followed by a brief expose from Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar on an amendment to the penal code. More than half of the clauses are related to the defense law. it makes provisions regarding punishment for avoiding civilian service and preventing fulfillment of military service. On the basis of the original submission, the sanction for this could have been 5 years imprisonment. However, a deputy (?proposed) that the legal and justice committee meet again in session, and its decision was accepted by the minister.

On this basis, the punishment that can be meted out for avoiding service was reduced to 3 years. The law also makes provision for those who were previously sentenced to be exempted from their punishment and the disadvantages stemming from the punishment. There should also be an exemption for those who, at the time the law comes into effect, are being subjected to procedures for the crime of refusing military service. The condition for the latter is that by 30 September they should accept unarmed or civilian service.

With the amendment of the penal code, the crime of penal idleness [koezveszelyes munkakerueles] was abolished. According to the wording of Friges Tallosy, committee chairman, it silently passed away, seeing that unemployment had made its appearance and that in international agreements we had committed ourselves to the ruling that no one should be forced to do work in Hungary. It also arose that the crime of speculation also ought to be abolished. The minister agreed with the proposal. The specialist committees also decided that this would be discussed, together with other laws, at the beginning of next year. [passage omitted]

Berecz New Committee President

LD3006132789 Budapest MTI in English
1059 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—Prior to the commencement of the Friday session of parliament, a meeting was held by the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. A communique was drafted by the committee to mark the 200th anniversary of the French revolution. The document commemorating the bicentenary of the event of world historical importance will be presented to parliament. Subsequently the committee elected its new president in the person of Janos Berecz. The former president, Matyas Szuros, is meeting his obligations as speaker of the parliament.

Decision on MSZMP Congress Preparation Published AU2906112589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jun 89 p 2

["Decision on Convening the Party Congress and on the Order of Its Preparation"]

[Text]

I

1. The Central Committee schedules the the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress to convene in Budapest on 7 October.

2. The congress delegates with voting right are the following:

- a) one delegate elected by the party members and representing 600 party members;
- b) members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee.

3. The local procedure of delegate election should make sure that

- a) every party member has the opportunity to make proposals on his own delegate and he himself can also be nominated as a delegate;
- b) every party member has the opportunity to participate in electing his delegate to the congress directly or by means of a deputy directly supervised by him;

c) the party members have the opportunity to get acquainted with the political position of the nominees in advance and to choose accordingly;

d) the openly functioning platforms within the party are represented in proportion to the support they receive.

By respecting these generally compulsory principles, and in coordination with the Budapest, county, and county-rank party committees, the local (town, village, and district) party committees should decide themselves on the detailed regulations and methods of electing their deputies. Every party member should receive adequate information on this in good time.

The Central Committee has created a constantly operating mandate-supervising committee to guarantee the implementation of the general principles of delegate elections. Pal Vastagh has been appointed as chairman of this committee. Basic party organizations, elected bodies, and groups of party members can turn to this committee if the local election of congress delegates violates the generally compulsory norms.

4. The following delegates without voting rights should receive an invitation to participate in the Congress with conference rights:

- a) deputies of the MSZMP group in the National Assembly;
- b) representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation;
- c) first secretaries of the county and county-rank party committees who were not elected as delegates.

5. The Congress should be prepared in some way to enable the party membership to express their opinion about the documents and proposals on the agenda and to enable their delegates to discuss and decide the issues while fully aware of the opinions of their electors. The party members should maintain systematic and regular contacts with the Central Committee in charge of preparing the party congress during the entire period of preparation. This should be mainly worked out through the delegates elected by the party members.

Therefore, the election of delegates should be finished by 27 August 1989. In justified cases, and on the basis of individual judgment, the party bodies in charge of the election of delegates can deviate from this. Then, the documents should be prepared by means of steady coordination with the delegates. At their founding meeting, the Budapest and the county delegates should elect three spokesmen: One for the preparation of the program declaration; one for the preparation of the statute; and one for the preparation of personnel proposals. These spokesmen should represent the opinion of the delegate groups at the preparatory meetings; the delegates should meet regularly with their electors and discuss the problems that might emerge during the preparatory work and the possible ways of solving these problems.

6. The Central Committee has established a Committee of Appeals to examine appeals within the jurisdiction of the congress. The chairman of this committee is Sandor Balogh. Members of the committee are: Laszlo Boros, Andras Fabriczki, Ference Marta, Laszlo Takacs, Ferenc Tokei, and Gyorgy Vajda.

II

1. The Central Committee proposes placing the following issues on the agenda of the congress:

1. Central Committee report on the activity carried out since the MSZMP National Conference in May 1988.
2. The organizational statute of the MSZMP.
3. Personnel issues.
4. The MSZMP program declaration.

The Central Committee will submit its preliminary proposals on the agenda to public debate, and, taking into consideration the opinions of the basic party organizations and other party organizations, the body will adopt a position on the proposals for the congress agenda at its meeting in July 1989.

2. On 19 June 1989, the Party Policy Committee of the Central Committee submitted the draft organizational statute, including the alternative proposals connected with the nature and way of establishing of the party's national leading and supervisory bodies, to public debate. The Central Committee calls upon the party members and the party bodies to express their opinion about these concepts. Taking into consideration their proposals, the Central Committee will adopt a position on the type of leading and supervisory bodies it will propose the party congress to set up.

III

The following issues should be submitted to the Central Committee session on July 1989:

1. Proposal on the agenda of the congress.
2. Proposal on the theses of the program declaration.
3. Proposal on the statute of the congress.
4. Proposal on the leading and supervisory bodies to be created at the congress, including the ways of electing them.
5. Proposal on the method of and budget for convening the congress.
6. Proposal on the composition of the Nominating Committee to be appointed by the Central Committee.

New Central Committee Secretaries Interviewed

Barabas on Tasks

AU2906120989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 26 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Barabas by unidentified correspondent: "We Must Work Out the Scenario for a Change in Model"—date, place not given]

[Question] How are you starting work as the newly elected secretary of the Central Committee? Is it true that you will also be keeping your position as secretary of the Budapest party committee?

[Barabas] There was talk about this. When I had the meeting with the Nominating Committee, it still seemed natural for me, as a deputy, to accept the position of Central Committee secretary. The members of the Nominating Committee proposed this. I felt this was only natural and this seemed more appropriate a few weeks before the party congress. It is also natural that the job of the Budapest party committee secretary requires a person in a full time job. Therefore, I would not have been able to also carry out that task and I would have had to find a deputy there and let the congress decide later on who should work where.

Today, however, the situation is different, since a new leading body emerged at the Central Committee session and the Presidium proposed to elect me to this new position as a full time job and I accepted this task with all my power. This is a great honor. But I must immediately add to this conventional sentence that, obviously, the basic task of this newly elected leadership structure, and of the old and new leaders who make up this body, is to prepare the party congress, and their mandate will be judged on the basis of the way they prepare for the party congress. Therefore, I think that my task is the one we spoke about with the Nominating Committee in the first place, namely to participate in the preparation of the party congress.

[Question] You have been given a difficult area of activity. We have been saying for months that ideological issues have not been clarified, and the platform debates also stressed this. Do you think it is possible to carry out even a slight ideological clarification?

[Barabas] I think that the party will not be able to undertake ideological clarification until the party congress. We must prepare the congress in a new way. The debate of the membership and the delegates elected by the party, and of the various platforms that are currently emerging should produce a program in the coming months, or rather in the few weeks that remain, a program—I do not speak of a platform in the case of the center—that could become the ideological compromise of the party congress.

I think there is a chance of creating such a compromise. The core of this compromise is a radical reform line. We have to plan the creation of such a line while bearing in mind the realistic foreign and domestic conditions. We must work out a scenario for a change in model in the direction of a democratic socialism.

[Question] Do you think the platforms are adequately publicized?

[Barabas] I have noticed that NEPSZABADSAG has been recently trying to provide adequate publicity for these platforms. In the coming weeks, this daily will probably have even greater tasks to fulfill in this respect. The central press organ of the party is an adequate forum for debate, the confrontation of platforms, and for clarifying exchanges of views.

Kovacs Views Reform Efforts

AU2906121189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 26 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs, by unidentified correspondent: "We Must Create Conditions That Will Make Our Work Fruitful"—following the session of the Central Committee on 24 June]

[Text] [Question] You have just been elected as Central Committee secretary in charge of party organization, and thus, obviously you will have a lot to do in guiding the preparation for the party congress. What is the most important task ahead?

[Kovacs] The most important thing now is to honestly prepare for the party congress. Part of this task has already been carried out by the publication of the new draft organizational statute by the party policy work committee, or more precisely, by submitting it to a wide public debate. Another part of this activity is the need to prepare the party's draft program declaration as soon as possible to enable the party members to express their opinions or to formulate alternatives. In addition, there are many other tasks awaiting us, primarily the local party organizations. First of all, we must elect the delegates to the congress by being acquainted with, and comparing their political views and positions. In setting the deadline, the Central Committee took into consideration the proposals of the party organizations and reform circles, and decided on a much later date than previously planned, namely on 27 August. This will make it possible for the party members to choose their delegates by really comparing the various positions, platforms, and views.

Another task is to prepare the congress as an event. I am convinced that we must organize this congress differently from previous ones, because this one will not be a great feast, nor a mere demonstration. We must create statute and organizational conditions for real work to emerge. The new way of organization should also be expressed in the external appearances and the financial

conditions under which the party congress is organized. We must start from the premise that, although the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) is a big party, it is only one party, and, hopefully, there will be several registered parties in Hungary by the time of the planned party congress. Therefore, we must show modesty and thrift in organizing the congress.

[Question] How many days will the congress last?

[Kovacs] Considering the fact that this congress will be an extremely important one, it would be difficult to tell now how many days it should last. In my view, the congress should continue until it finishes its work in the spirit of a relative unity.

[Question] How could the newly elected Political Executive Committee contribute to a better organization of the party congress?

[Kovacs] I am very glad to see that representatives of further district party organizations received a place in this Political Executive Committee. This party greatly needs a view of everyday practice, reality, and of the real living party life in its central decisions. In my view, we can also expect from this wider body that it better shape the constructive cooperation between various concepts and trends within the party, and, in this respect, this body could contribute to the creation of the framework and methods of a new political style within the party. However, no party body can monopolize the tasks related to the preparation of the party congress, and these tasks can only be fulfilled with the cooperation and creative activity of local, district, enterprise, and residential district party organizations.

Romanian Press Accuses Hungary of Provocation

LD2906210789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] The Romanian press has carried another attack on Hungarian politics. The Bucharest foreign political weekly, LUMEA accuses our homeland in a sharper tone than any so far, in connection with the funeral of Imre Nagy, of fascist and irredentist manifestations and of anti-Romanian provocation.

Press on 'Iron Curtain' at Romanian Border

AU2806145889

[Editorial Report] The Hungarian central papers of 23 and 24 June carry extensive reports on international negative reaction to reports that Romania was erecting barbed wire fences along its border with Hungary on 20 June.

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 23 June on page 3 carries a 400-word MTI report on the international condemnation of Romania, under the headline: "The International Labor Office [ILO] Condemns Romanian Discrimination—The World Press Talks of A

'New Iron Curtain'—NATO Condemns This Measure." The report quotes a decision of an ILO committee according to which "the ILO has expressed its concern at the discrimination against many workers in Romania on the basis of their political views and national affiliation." The decision also stipulates the "sending of a committee to Romania to study the issue on location." However, the report adds, "nothing will come out of this as the Romanian delegation immediately announced that it would not accept such a delegation."

The report then continues with quotes from various international sources. The French radio and television stations, as well as the French press are quoted as comparing the barbed wire fences to the iron curtain or the Berlin Wall. According to the Austrian paper STANDARD, "30,000 people have fled Romania in recent years" and "the Romanians used stronger words in condemning Imre Nagy's funeral than the tone used in condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam." The report also mentions the NATO criticism directed at Romania for putting up the border fence, as well as the "tone of indignation and dismay" of the FRG media in reporting about the barbed wire fence. At the same time, unnamed press agency reports are quoted as saying that "protest meetings were organized in 20 places in Romania in which the participants condemned the antisocialist and anti-Romanian provocations in Hungary."

The Hungarian trade union daily NEPSZAVA of the same day, on page 2, carries a 1,000-word MTI report under the headline: "The Western Press on the Barbed Wire Barrier in Romania." In addition to quoting the same sources as mentioned above, NEPSZAVA also carries two pictures of the barbed wire fence in the area of Peneszlek. This report also quotes the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE as saying that "while Hungary is dismantling its border fence on its western border, Romania is putting such a barrier up now." The reaction of the Italian press is described by quoting some of its headlines like: "Barbed Wire Around Romania, the Concentration Camp Country;" and "Ceausescu Lowers the Iron Curtain To Stop the Spread of the Reform Epidemic." This report also cites remarks published in the Romanian Hungarian-language weekly A HET [THE WEEK] according to which "the events in Budapest degenerated into a fascist, irredentist, and anti-Romanian political action."

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 24 June on page 7 carries a 1,600-word report by correspondent Janos T. Rac on the situation along the border Romanian-Hungarian under the headline: "Visiting the Fence on the Romanian Border." Accompanied by a picture of the border in the area of Nyirabran showing the concrete pillars prepared for the barbed wire, the report describes the adventures of various refugees in escaping across the border in the form of informal discussion with some of these people. Rac points out that these people are "very reluctant to reveal their names or let themselves be photographed" during their first encounter

with journalists, but these fears decrease "within 1 or 2 weeks, following the helping hand of the government." In connection with the barbed wire fence, Rac quotes a border police official, Lajos Horvath, as saying that "they first sighted these concrete pillars of 2-2.5 meters each in November last year" and that work on setting up the fence "accelerated incredibly following the end of frost at the beginning of March this year."

The report then deals with the various difficulties these refugees encounter in Romania and the refusal of the Romanian authorities to issue passports for them. According to the refugees, "one needs very good connections in order to receive travel documents, and if one does not have such connections, he tries to replace them with 'hard currency' bribes, like Hungarian-made Marlboro cigarettes or coffee packages from Hungary worth about 1,600 lei, or about 3,000 forints." The border police official is quoted describing the humanitarian actions of the local population across the border, their help in rushing sick people or pregnant women to the hospital, and the general help they provide these people in their first hours on Hungarian territory. As for "cold" statistics, the aforementioned border police official is quoted as saying that "the average monthly number of border violations stands at 15.6" and this number depends on "Romanian domestic policy and bilateral foreign policy events. Some 70 percent of the refugees are Hungarians, the others are of other nationalities."

Report on CSSR Demand for Release of Prisoners
LD2906211389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] In Czechoslovakia, over 2,000 citizens have demanded in a petition the release of political prisoners, the guaranteeing of the rights of association and assembly, and a reassessment of the events of 1968. The signatories include dramatist Vaclav Havel, who was recently released provisionally from prison, film director Jiri Menzel, and several former colleagues of Alexander Dubcek. All of them are of the view that a real social dialogue should be initiated in Czechoslovakia.

SED 'Concern' at Hungarian Developments Noted
AU2706145889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 23 Jun 89 p 1

[MTI report: "The SED Is Concerned About the Hungarian Situation"]

[Text] On 22 June, the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee for the first time openly expressed its concern over the political developments in Hungary.

Central Committee Secretary Joachim Herrmann submitted the report of the Politburo at the 2-day session of the SED Central Committee that began on 22 June.

In the part dealing with foreign affairs, the document concludes the following: "Some politicians in capitalist countries are trying to apply pressure on some socialist countries to compel them to accept capitalist social concepts and structures as well as bourgeois pluralism and ideology. Under the banner of socialist renewal, forces came to the fore which are striving to eliminate socialism. In this respect, we are particularly worried about the developments in Hungary."

At the same time, the SED document confirmed one of the basic principles of the party's foreign policy, according to which every socialist country is constructing socialism according to its own endowments.

The SED Politburo report rebukes Western politicians who have recently used every public opportunity to attack the GDR and the state border of West Berlin, "the wall." (Quotation marks as in the report.) The "wall" will exist until the causes that led to its erection have been eliminated.

Soviet Ambassador on 1956 Events, Neutrality
LD2806204189 Budapest MTI in English
1737 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—The internal situation of the Soviet Union, experiences gained from the first Congress of People's Deputies, and trends in Soviet-Hungarian economic, political and other relations, were the main topics of a forum held at the Budapest HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] college on Wednesday in the attendance of Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Mr Stukalin emphasized that there are several common features in the processes under way in the two countries, the efforts of which are aimed at a better exploitation of the potentials of socialism. Nothing can come in the way of the close cooperation, not even the recent extreme manifestations aimed at creating anti-Soviet sentiments (the demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy, and anti-Soviet statements at the funeral of Imre Nagy on June 16).

Concerning the assessment of the tragedy in Hungary in 1956, Mr Stukalin emphasized that the Soviet people were following with attention the changes in the Hungarian evaluation, since what happened at that time affected the Soviet Union as well. He emphasized that the events of 1956 should be evaluated on the basis of the realities of that time.

Regarding the eventual neutrality of the socialist countries, Mr Stukalin said that he agreed with the statements of Hungarian leaders: As long as the two confronting military blocs survive, the neutrality of the countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty is not appropriate.

Szuross Says Measures Against Tabajdi 'Premature'
LD2906082189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0430 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] On page 10 of today's MAGYAR HIRLAP, Matyas Szuros, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the National Assembly, makes a statement about Csaba Tabajdi, whom he considers as a talented, cultured, clever, and reform-minded young man, and for whom he predicts a great future in the party movement and an even greater one in national politics.

According to Matyas Szuros the interview which the deputy director of the International Relations Department—and who is under a disciplinary investigation—has given to an Italian paper matches everything he has already stated. Still, it is a fact that he made a tactical error—he should not have made a statement abroad about the danger emanating from the southeast. However, what he said was true, Matyas Szuros continued, for there is a circumstance in Romania's policy that we must pay attention to. All this notwithstanding, Matyas Szuros considers the measures taken against Csaba Tabajdi as premature.

Foreign Minister on Official Visit to Austria

Horn Arrives, Meets Vranitzky
LD2606192889 Budapest MTI in English
1807 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Vienna, June 26 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, who had arrived on a two-day official visit in Vienna on Sunday [25 June] evening, started his talks with Austrian leaders on Monday.

In the morning, Mr Horn held a short talk with chancellor Franz Vranitzky, briefing him on the session of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee held late last week, and receiving information from Herr Vranitzky on the next measures by Austria in its approach to the Common Market. The two politicians also touched upon the topic of the Nagymaros project and the Austrian involvement. Gyula Horn reassured the Austrian side that Hungary wished to fulfil its obligation of electricity supply to Austria even if the project was finally called off. Another important topic was the Hungarian debts to Austria, nearly 18 per cent of all Hungarian debts to foreign countries. The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs pointed out that Austrian purchases in Hungary should play an increasing part in Hungary's debt servicing.

By Monday noon, Mr Horn and the members of his entourage held three talks with Alois Mock, minister of foreign affairs, as well as other leaders of the Austrian

Foreign Ministry. Later, Mr Horn told Hungarian journalists that the negotiations focussed on the rapidly developing bilateral relations and such practical questions that still pose further tasks, despite a considerable progress.

They reached an agreement on soon working out a protocol to simplify for Hungarian citizens to seek employment in Austria thereby advocating the formation of Hungarian-Austrian joint ventures and cooperation in border traffic and transport. They agreed on building three new border stations between the two countries at Fertorakos, Fertoujlak and Pinkamindszent in the near future. The Austrian side showed signs of worry as regards the Vienna-Budapest World Expo, since they are afraid that Hungary will withdraw from the joint project like in the case of Nagymaros. Gyula Horn said that it was exactly the Nagymaros affair that encouraged the Hungarian leadership to adopt a new approach as regards the social preparation of decisions, through consulting public opinion in addition to parliament's decision.

Following their talks, the two foreign ministers ceremoniously exchanged the ratification documents of an investment promotion and protection agreement signed in last May. Then, both ministers delivered a short address praising its importance from the point of view of the development of Hungarian-Austrian economic relations and the security of Austrian investments in Hungary.

Afterwards, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs gave a dinner in the honour of Gyula Horn, in the course of which both ministers delivered a toast.

Vienna Radio on Meetings

*AU2606165889 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1600 GMT 26 Jun 89*

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has distinguished himself as a convinced supporter of reforms over the past few months. Horn was able to supply to the Austrian chancellor and foreign minister authentic reports on the changes within the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party that were carried out last weekend [24-25 June]. According to Horn, the reformers have achieved an overall victory. The ruling Communists can move away from their defensive position now in order to win the free and democratic elections scheduled for next spring.

During today's talks the Austrian side also raised the issue of compensation for the suspended Nagymaros dam project. Foreign Minister Horn expressed interest in establishing closer ties with EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. Chancellor Vranitzky promised to Hungary Austria's full support in this respect. At noon an agreement on the protection of investments was signed. The agreement guarantees full security to Austrian enterprises in case of a possible upcoming change in the regime.

Less specific results have been achieved on another issue: Hungary expressed the wish that Austria be more generous in granting work permits to Hungarians who are facing high unemployment rates at home.

Discusses Joint Embassies

*AU2606181889 Vienna Television Service in German
1730 GMT 26 Jun 89*

[Excerpt] The Austrian-Hungarian monarchy maintained imperial and royal embassies. If the ideas of Hungary's Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Austria's Foreign Minister Mock are realized, embassies could soon be established that represent both countries again. If Hungary has no embassy in a certain country and Austria has one, the Austrian Embassy should also safeguard Hungary's interests, and vice versa. [passage omitted]

Meets Waldheim, Officials

*LD2706204189 Budapest MTI in English
1640 GMT 27 Jun 89*

[Text] Vienna, June 27 (MTI)—On the second and final day of his official visit to Austria, Gyula Horn, Hungarian foreign minister, held talks with Vice-Chancellor Josef Riegler on preparations for the Budapest-Vienna world expo.

Mr Horn asked the vice-chancellor for his support in granting more favourable terms for the sale of Hungarian farm produce in Austria.

Mr Horn also met Rudolf Poder, president of the Nationalrat, and a group of representatives of Austrian parliamentary parties. The sides pointed to the importance of developing inter-parliamentary relations.

The Hungarian foreign minister paid a visit to Federal President Kurt Waldheim and informed him about Hungary's internal policy situation and the endeavours of the government.

In the afternoon, Mr Horn, escorted by Hannes Swo-boda, councillor for Vienna and district and member of the Austrian World Expo Preparatory Committee, toured the venue for the World Expo. The expo also featured prominently in his talks with Helmut Zilk, 1ord mayor of Vienna.

Early in the evening, Mr Horn is to hold a press conference in Sopron.

Holds Press Briefing in Sopron

LD2706230489 Budapest MTI in English
2213 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI)—Gyula Horn said his two-day official visit to Austria had been valuable and successful. The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs visited Sopron accompanied by his Austrian counterpart, Alois Mock, on Tuesday.

Both of them symbolically took part in the pulling down of the Hungarian technical alarm system, currently being dismantled in the area near Sopron. The ministers themselves cut the wire of the fence in several places, and then delivered a short address praising the importance of the removal of the "iron curtain".

Then, Messrs Mock and Horn held a press briefing. The Austrian foreign minister stressed that the removal of the iron curtain from the Hungaro-Austrian border was of international significance, and would hopefully be followed by similar acts in the wake of favourable changes in world politics, in which Soviet perestroika is a major factor.

Gyula Horn was of the same opinion as Herr Mock—that the two foreign ministers played an important role in initiating measures to reinforce economic and political, cultural and other relations between Hungary and Austria. Austria wishes to support Hungary in its aspirations to participate in European political processes and integration.

Answering questions, Mr Horn said:

'Statements to the effect that Hungary intends to leave the Warsaw Treaty is something no serious political force would want to achieve in Hungary'. He said the Warsaw Treaty alliance was brought about by a specific historical situation, so its winding-up would require an appropriate historical situation as well, and as long as it exists, Hungary will remain a member.

The Hungarian minister also spoke about the approaching visit of U.S. President Bush to Hungary. He said one of the reasons it is important is that President Bush will be the first U.S. President to come to Hungary. There will be opportunities for general exchanges of views, passing new bilateral agreements, letters of intent, and economic and other types of agreements, arrangements for which are already under way.

Horn, Mock Remove Part of Fence

AU2706171789 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 1600 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Quite a lot of imagination is required today to understand what the fence between Austrian and Hungary meant for decades to the people on the other side: a weapon of deterrence that should curb the people's desire for freedom. Today the double fence, located 2

and ½ kms from the border near Sopron, appears to be harmless. The wires are no longer electrified. The barbed wire, arranged behind the electrified wire, which was designed to protect the electrified fence from animals, will also be dismantled by border guards today. The soldiers, however, are in no hurry. Upon the arrival of Foreign Minister Mock and his Hungarian counterpart Gyula Horn, the excavators are set in motion. The two politicians are given large scissors after they have put on large working gloves with great pleasure. The wire that used to be electrified day and night is cut off at various points.

This is not the first time that Hungary has demonstrated the dismantling of the Iron Curtain to the Western public. However, this act of detente, which was witnessed by the public, is unparalleled within the East Bloc.

[Begin Mock recording] This is the most beautiful moment in my political and diplomatic career. This is a window to the future. This gives rise to the great hope that one day, in a few years, the things that divide us, such as walls and barbed wires, will disappear throughout Europe. [end recording]

This positive development, however, is overshadowed by the establishment of other fences, which is taking place on the border between Hungary and Romania. As a matter of fact, Bucharest has announced that the new iron curtain at Romania's border with Hungary is being dismantled again. However, journalists who visited the region a few days ago, had different impressions.

Vienna Press Interviews Horn

AU2806085689 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
28 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Peter Martos in Vienna: "Austria Can Be of Enormous Help"; date not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: At present the main question in the West is how the reform policy will continue in Hungary. Over the weekend the Communist Party seems to have decided in favor of continuing along the reform path more rapidly. Does this mean that the policy pursued by General Secretary Karoly Grosz has been too faint-hearted so far?

Gyula Horn: So far there has been no discussion about the reform path, not even about the pace. What we have done so far in the government and in parliament—working out and submitting new laws—was a very forceful step.

[Martos] Sometimes there has been criticism that the speed was too high; parliament was sometimes not able to follow....

[Horn] I think that the deputies have accepted practically all the laws. The discussions were rather held outside parliament, for instance, concerning the new law on the parties. In this spirit, an important part of the party did not deal at all with the reform process. At the same time there has also been the opinion that the political reform was too fast for the economic situation. I personally think that the political process is even too slow.

[Martos] How can it be speeded up?

[Horn] I see fundamental tasks in two areas. One is the intention to have all those laws passed by parliament which make the constitutional state structurally secure and to have them passed during the 12 months until the parliamentary elections—if the elections are not advanced. There is no hurry: All laws will be formulated carefully and will be intensively discussed by the entire society before they are dealt with by parliament.

Second: No matter how much some people claim that the economic development has "broken off"—this is not the point; the point is the fact that economic change is not possible without political changes. In order to develop market mechanisms one needs, at the same time, economic, economic-political, and political decisions. In this respect there is some asynchrony: In the economy the changes are not yet unambiguous. The reason: Political pressure is lacking.

[Martos] The opposition denies the undemocratically elected parliament its legitimacy to pass laws on democracy.

[Martos] If the drafts are formulated during a debate by the entire society then why should the parliament not pass them? All laws that have been submitted so far were accepted.

[Martos] The opposition thinks that the draft of the law on the parties lacks a number of things and that it contains too many restrictions.

[Horn] To my knowledge there are hardly any objections by the opposition to the law on the parties. It is very good that there is a dialogue between the party and the opposition parties—but I am afraid that this dialogue will very much slow down the process of the formation of law.

[Martos] This is probably the disadvantage of any democracy....

[Horn] But in our country we do not yet have any democratic traditions.

[Martos] This sounds as if there were a certain contradiction between democracy and the desire to build up democracy....

[Horn] Sometimes I get this feeling: Opposition delays reforms. This is the strangeness about the Hungarian situation. We will experience many strange situations in the future, too.

[Martos] The new leadership structure of the Communist Party gives the impression that Karoly Grosz had to stay for a certain group, while Rezso Nyers was appointed as chairman for the reformers. This structure will hold until the party congress at the most....

[Horn] In my view, the situation is a bit more complicated. First, Rezso Nyers, as the current "number one," is that integration figure of the party who has always consistently struggled for reforms, even at the time when he was attacked very harshly and deprived of his power. Second: In my view, Karoly Grosz also wants reforms, but he is a follower of a "balanced advance." This—the pace and the methods—is what distinguishes him from various other top functionaries.

The changes adopted on Saturday [24 June] make it possible for us to overcome the differences in opinion concerning the methods, means, and speed of reforms by continuous voting.

[Martos] You are a member of the 21-member Political Executive Committee. Is this only an expanded Politburo or will it be demoted to being a consultative organ of the Presidium?

[Horn] I cannot give you a final answer to this question. At the end of the Central Committee session we agreed to set down exactly the responsibilities of the president and the general secretary and the task of the Political Executive Committee. In my view, it will do the same as the Politburo has so far. Of course, there are ad hoc questions concerning party leadership, which have to be decided promptly by the Presidium.

[Martos] And the increased number of members?

[Horn] This made it possible that representatives of various social strata now sit in the leading body: workers, company heads, members of agricultural cooperatives, scientists, and others. Thus we cannot only discuss the preparation of the congress in varied ways but also the problems of reforms.

[Martos] Before you became minister you used very harsh formulations concerning the problems in Transylvania. What can Hungary do for the Hungarian minority in Romania?

[Horn] This is also the big question for us. I do not have any illusions, because the matter is not, first and foremost, a bilateral Hungarian-Romanian issue. It involves international treaties and norms of international law. Hungary cannot do anything on its own, the world public

has to act more energetically than to date. Of course, we will discuss any violation of laws, any violation of a treaty and we will not let the matter rest. But we are helpless to a certain degree.

[Martos] Recently numerous scenarios have been drawn up: Hungary as a sovereign or neutral state, as a member of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] or even of the EC.... Where is Hungary going in the medium term, for instance until the 1995 World Fair?

[Horn] In this field, too, we have to proceed step by step. For instance: Even though there are no political objections against EFTA membership, objections concerning the economy, whose structure has to be fundamentally changed are all the stronger. However, we could conclude a free trade agreement. Subsequently, we would have to develop a satellite relationship with the EC, by which I mean either a preferential agreement or a free trade agreement. There is no doubt that in 1995 we will already be a member of the Council of Europe, which is very important in view of the human rights convention.

I consider membership in the Warsaw Pact while adhering to all accepted obligations equally important.

[Martos] Also those in CEMA?

[Horn] Yes. We are striving to modernize CEMA: A new mechanism has to be developed, which makes the principle of interest maximally effective. Those who are interested in the future kind of cooperation should be a member—it does not matter if not all want to join.

Parallel and supplementary to membership in the Warsaw Pact and in CEMA we want to expand bilateral and multilateral relations with the West.

[Martos] How might this scenario look in Hungary itself?

[Horn] In 1995 we will hopefully have the largest part of the problems resulting from the repayment of debts and the considerable structural change in the economy behind us. At the same time the total value of the functioning joint ventures should be raised from the current \$350 to \$400 million to at least 10 to 15 times as much, which would link Hungary with the high-capacity national economies.

[Martos] Can Austria contribute to this?

[Horn] Yes, to an enormous degree. I do not think of investments above all, but of the reduction of bureaucratic obstacles, for instance, concerning agricultural exports and the establishment of cooperation groups. Austria could make a decisive contribution to achieving an agreement with EFTA and could be of great help in developing our infrastructure.

[Martos] And what about Nagymaros?

[Horn] This is an open question, which will still have to be discussed.

KUNA Interviews Horn

LD2806141789 Kuwait KUNA in English
1159 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (KUNA)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn Wednesday expressed satisfaction over the progress and development of economic, cultural and political relations between Kuwait and Hungary.

The signing of an agreement with Kuwait to protect investments and cancel taxes duplicity, will foster economic and trade relations, Horn told KUNA in an exclusive interview last night. Lately in Budapest, an initial agreement was signed to promote investments between the two countries.

Horn was speaking to KUNA on the sideline of his visit along with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock to the joint Austrian-Hungarian borders to "symbolically remove the iron curtain separating the two countries."

Asked on reports given by high-ranking Hungarian figures concerning Hungary's investment to restore relations with Israel, Horn said that the decision will be taken by the Hungarian Government at the end of this year. The Hungarian official stressed that the decision will be purely Hungarian and in accordance with the sovereignty and benefit of his country.

Horn said that the decision to restore relations with Israel depends on the outcome of the recent negotiations conducted with Tel Aviv and the development of the Israeli stance toward the problems in the Middle East. If the developments are positive, they will certainly help in restoring ties with Israel, Horn said.

Horn stressed that if relations are normalized with Israel they will not be on the account of the Arabs, adding that restoration of these relations will help accelerate the complicated peace process in the Middle East. The Hungarian official said that his country will not hesitate in mediating between the concerned parties if that was necessary.

Hungary is one of the countries in the Eastern bloc that had severed diplomatic relations with the Zionist entity after the 1967 war between Israel and Arab countries.

Horn Meets Independent Parties Representatives

LD2906212389 Budapest MTI in English
1750 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—On Thursday, Foreign Ministry officials met representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Hungarian People's Party, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Christian

Democratic People's Party, the Federation of Free Democrats, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Federation of Young Democrats and the New March Front.

As Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said, the exchange of views was aimed at putting them in the picture about the motives and goals of official Hungarian foreign policy and getting them to take an active part in reaching a consensus on foreign political questions, as well as supplying them with information to help them establish their own international activity.

Mr Horn spoke in detail on the factors relating to Hungary's affiliation to the Warsaw Treaty, and Hungarian endeavours to modernize the alliance system. He analyzed Hungary's relations to the socialist countries and efforts to develop them. He also dealt with Hungarian-Romanian relations, and efforts to help the Hungarian minority in Romania. Further, he described the motives and ideas which guide Hungary when developing its relations with Western countries.

State secretary Laszlo Kovacs gave a briefing on the approaching visit of U.S. President George Bush to Hungary, outlining the arrangements and his planned itinerary.

Minister of State Imre Pozsgay called for joint national responsibility, saying that he had no doubts the new Hungarian movements and parties were guided by similar principles, even if there were differences of views on certain foreign policy questions.

Leaders of the participating parties and movements also outlined their positions in all the questions outlined above.

In reply to their proposals, Mr Horn stressed that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs aimed to maintain steady relations with the Hungarian parties and movements, and was ready to give assistance to their work.

Party-Opposition Medium-Level Talks Begin
LD3006030689 Budapest MTI in English
1906 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the Opposition Round-Table and the third side, including the social organizations, started their first medium-level talks in parliament on Thursday on the strategic tasks of overcoming the economic and social crisis. The delegations are headed by Pal Ivanyi, Laszlo Bruszt and Laszlo Sandor.

The negotiating sides are expected to reach agreement on the setting-up of sub-committees in charge of this subject and on the schedule for their specialist discussions.

Before the talks got under way, the third side in the political discussions made a statement to the press.

The social organizations and movements comprising the third side claim the agreement signed by the sides on June 21 has been infringed upon. Since it was clearly laid down in the document that no legislation can precede the political agreements, the third side objects to parliament's putting forward the first reading of the outline for the reform of the state budget. This happened in spite of the HSWP's acknowledgement in the June 21 agreement that each phase of the legislation, including the debate on the first reading, was involved.

Agree on Economic Talks
LD3006092189 Budapest MTI in English
0649 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—The agreement was reached at the medium level discussions held in the parliament on Thursday between the delegations of the HSWP, the Opposition Round-Table and the social organizations of the third side, that working groups will be set up for negotiating the strategic tasks of overcoming present economic and social crisis. The delegations at the three-sided discussions were led by Pal Ivanyi, Gyorgy Szakolcz [as received] and Laszlo Sandor.

The agreement sets down the formation of working groups to discuss six different issues. The groups, to consist of 5-5 members of the negotiating sides, are to survey strategic issues for handling the economic crisis (indebtedness, changing of production structure, inflation etc.), and its social aspects, the subject of ownership reform, with special emphasis on the state property, the ownership of land and the cooperative law, central budget reform and questions of the public revenues administration law, competition rights and counter monopoly regulations, and ways of overcoming entrepreneurial legal barriers.

U.S. Ambassador Meets Opposition Party Members
LD2706220689 Budapest MTI in English
2102 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI)—Mr Mark Palmer, U.S. ambassador to Hungary, held talks on economic political questions with parties and organizations belonging to the opposition round-table in the Hungarian parliament on Tuesday.

In the course of the meeting, representatives of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), the Independent Small-holders' Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Democratic Party of Hungary and the Federation of Free Democrats set out their views on Hungary's future investment policy, the cut in state subsidies and the implementation of an anti-inflationary policy. They also touched upon the subject of how guarantees to protect foreign investments could be established in Hungary, and how the West could assist the Hungarian economy in finding its footing.

In the course of the meeting, it turned out that opposition parties are unanimously calling for a vigorous step to boost the role of the private economy. They also agreed that the reinforcement of relations with the world, particularly the European economy, was inevitable. Their wishes seemed to differ in the areas and fields they consider suitable for investments.

New March Front Chief Interviewed on Reforms
AU2606122989 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
26 Jun 89 p 8

[Interview with Ivan Vitanyi, managing director of the Hungarian New March Front, by Peter Martos: "The 'Hungarian Club of Rome' Wants to Institutionalize Freethinking"; date, place not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: In a newspaper interview you said that the positive expectations of the population toward the leadership after Kadar comprised a "state of grace" which ended in October 1988 with the manipulated vote on Nagymaros in parliament. Did the loss of trust not occur earlier, after the return of Communist Party leader Grosz from the meeting with Romanian party and state leader Ceausescu in Arad?

Ivan Vitanyi: This was an intermediary stage. However, I accord more importance to the disappointment which found a dual symbol in Nagymaros—a symbol of the stagnation of the reform of the political system of institutions and of the lack of economic renewal. The parliamentary vote of October 1988 was proof of the continuation of the econocratic [oekonomokratisch] processes of decisionmaking. Furthermore, the expression "state of grace" was coined by Miklos Vasarhelyi, the closest associate of Premier Imre Nagy, who was executed in 1958—I only quoted him.

[Martos] How can this state be reestablished?

[Vitanyi] Not at all, I think. A vacuum is developing which Hungary has to escape. It was the policy of the past 30 years to neutralize the population in the tradition of Emperor Franz Josef's dualism in a consolidated system through concessions to the stomach. This was not Kadar's invention. One has to break out of this situation. What is lacking, above all, is a civilian society that builds itself up from below. However, the people below have grown too accustomed to monolithic power and draw in their heads—no change will start from there without the establishment of a democratic multiparty system.

[Martos] What is it, then, that makes the Communist Party introduce the multiparty system?

[Vitanyi] The pressure of the social center, from which the proto-parties have developed. But the simple people also have their opinion, the expression of which is organized from the center.

[Martos] There are also centrifugal forces within the Communist Party. One extreme lies in the Ferenc Munnich Society or the Marxist Unity Front, the other lies in the Communist Party reform circles or the New March Front, which you represent. Are these phenomena of decay?

[Vitanyi] What is happening in these structures is terribly confusing for an outside observer. There are many people who are active in two or several organizations at the same time. Opposition member Gaspar Miklos Tamas said that these are not yet parties, but tribes: We are in a stage of development, like the Pashtos or the Afghans.

In the West, too, it took some time until the parties had developed. In our country this process is only at its beginning. The MSZMP, for instance, is called the Hungarian United Socialist Workers Party, but it is not a party. It was an element of power and it exercised it.

In the democracy there will be several parties which support socialism. In the MSZMP there are several directions. Either it divides itself or those parts separate from the whole that do not accept this concept—then a true center would be formed.

[Martos] In 1948-49 the Communist Party swallowed the Social Democrats. Will it now "spit them out" again?

[Vitanyi] This is difficult to say. On the one hand, it announces that one has to build more intensively on social democratic traditions, on the other, the Social Democratic Party has been resurrected.

[Martos] Asked about his past as a Social Democrat, State Minister Rezzo Nyers said that he will remain in the MSZMP. He is one of the founding members of the New March Front. Where does this heterogeneous society actually stand, with Nyers on the one side and Vasarhelyi, who has long been ostracized, on the other?

[Vitanyi] It is heterogeneous and homogeneous at the same time. We have members who are in other parties and still meet with us: There is an intellectual proximity, a certain common past, partly in the old March Front of 1938 and, without any exception, as followers of Imre Nagy, and later of reform policy.

Ideologically we are linked by the fact that we are unconditional followers of parliamentary democracy on the basis of a multiparty system and, at the same time, see the necessity of arousing civilian society. Furthermore, there is the support for consistent reforms, which involves not only the catchword market mechanism, but also the expansion of economic autonomy. We all agree on these issues.

[Martos] As far as I know, the Association of Free Democrats, for instance, would also agree with this; this is not something special.

[Vitanyi] Perhaps it is only a coincidence that this group has been formed. We do not have any strict dividing lines; three or four of us are leading members of the Association of Free Democrats, three were co-founders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and left there only later. It would also be difficult to determine the difference with regard to the concepts of the Social Democratic Party.

[Martos] I do not see any large differences with regard to the line of State Minister Imre Pozsgay, either....

[Vitanyi] There are hardly any differences.

[Martos] There is rivalry between Nyers, and Pozsgay. Nyers was a co-founder of the New March Front, Pozsgay participated in founding the "Movement for a Democratic Hungary"....

[Vitanyi] There is no "yes" to Nyers and no "no" to Pozsgay. I could not cite any one of Pozsgay's views with which the Front would not agree. Nyers has participated in all sessions, thus we are closer to him.

[Martos] In which direction is the New March Front heading? What does it want?

[Vitanyi] Thanks to its different composition, its special task can be to find a common denominator between the various movements.

[Martos] This is also being done by the Patriotic People's Front, the umbrella association of the Communist-Party-affiliated organizations.

[Vitanyi] Yes, certainly. But I think that it has not done this well from the political viewpoint. Actually, it should have made its infrastructure available to the movement toward a multiparty system.

In this vacuum of legitimation we would need a national committee in which the political groups could discuss the preconditions and procedures of the multiparty system and participate in the preparation of elections. This would provide some sort of advance for future conditions of power.

[Martos] But this would make the Patriotic People's Front superfluous.

[Vitanyi] Yes.

[Martos] There are very different reactions to the idea of the National Committee; the Hungarian Democratic Forum rejects it most vehemently. What is the New March Front's attitude toward the Forum's ideas?

[Vitanyi] The central issue of the discussion is that the forum also wants to be a reservoir, like us. In contrast to us, however, it makes a claim on leadership in bringing about a future understanding. We only want to put political life in motion.

[Martos] If the New March Front does not content itself with the service function—will it then become a party?

[Vitanyi] No, I do not think so. When the Front was constituted there were 21 of us, of whom one has died. When our statement was published in September 1988 we did not want to enter the political competition. It is more likely that several parties, above all a social democratic party, will develop from our various directions. The New March Front may still exist.

I would prefer some sort of Hungarian Club of Rome, which is not bound by political membership—a mixture of a discussion club and a scientific institute, which also expresses opinions without these opinions being binding to all. Thus, we could institutionalize freethinking.

In the meantime so many people have announced their interest that we will accept members. But we do not want to turn into a mass movement, but remain an elite club. However, there will not be any restrictions and criteria for membership. Everyone who identifies himself with our goals is welcome.

Agriculture Minister on Grain Price Problems
*LD2906130889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Text] [Announcer] While representatives of the grain producers took to the roads this morning, Agriculture and Food Minister Csaba Huetter was listening in parliament to opinions regarding an amendment to the defense law. We asked the minister to reply on whether the current harvest demonstration is really an overture to a price war.

[Begin recording] [Huetter] There is more at issue here than a price war, and there is more at issue than the extent to which grain production is economic. All of agriculture, including the food and industry, has problems regarding profitability. The problems are well known to the government; the government intends and will adopt measure to resolve them. Unfortunately, they are problems that have accumulated over several years and that cannot be resolved at one stroke under the impact of one demonstration.

[Announcer] Do you think that there was no particular sense in the producers taking to the roads?

[Huetter] Even without a producers' demonstration, there will be, and would have been, an improvement in agricultural positions. I accepted the ministers' post because I feel there needs to be an improvement in the

situation, and I also believe this is possible. However, 3 years are necessary for this, presuming a rhythmic, uniform improvement of the position.

[Announcer] Do you think that the producers will still have patience for 3 years?

[Huetter] Three years of patience is not necessary. They will encounter a positive impact in 1990.

[Announcer] Has work begun?

[Huetter] Naturally work has begun. In August there will be a review of the profitability of not just wheat, not just grain, but of all agricultural production, and measures to improve profitability will be determined. I would like to stress that they are measures that can only occur to the detriment of an income-owning group. As is known, the budget is unable to undertake further burdens, nor does it want to act in a [word indistinct] manner. Thus, no matter how much the grain producers and the agricultural producers say they want to earn—but not to the detriment of the consumers—it is possible here to achieve a substantive extra income only by the settlement of food prices.

Many people object to industrial prices. I would add that there are as many possibilities to influence industrial prices as what exists. The price index of Hungarian industrial equipment that serve agriculture and come from socialist imports and domestic production is below the world market price index. True, this cannot be said of machines from capitalist imports. However, Hungarian procuring prices are far (?below) the internal market procuring prices of the European or the developed capitalist countries. [end recording]

Nemeth Interviewed on Need for 'Bold Moves'
AU2706153989 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 24-25 Jun 89 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth by Grzegorz Lubczyk: "We Must Find a Way Out by Ourselves"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Lubczyk] What have you learned as head of government over the last few months?

[Nemeth] I became premier at a time of profound socioeconomic crisis and of greater ferment in public life, where people have been calling for a fuller explanation of the reasons for the unfavorable situation in which the country finds itself. Knowing about and deciding to assume my current function, I was, of course, aware that the government that I would head could not expect to enjoy popularity. The problems that are waiting to be solved—they were not addressed by previous governments—call for rapid decisions and very bold moves. Events over the last few months—since I have been in office—have strengthened my conviction that we are at

the beginning of a transition period that calls for significant sacrifices from all of society. Resolute subordination to the goals that are being realized and rapid, consistent, and cohesive moves are necessary in order to fulfill our tasks. I believe that only coordinated work on the part of the entire government can yield results.

[Lubczyk] Could you be quite frank about this and tell me whether, in view of the enormous degree of resistance within the economy, which you want to change, you do not sometimes want to give up all of this and return to academic life?

[Nemeth] My friends know me to be someone who does not like to give up. As with any game, in my present work, I prefer to act collectively and I count on the assistance and advice of competent colleagues. Earlier, when I was a college teacher, I became acquainted with a great many economic theories. I tried to use the knowledge and experience that I acquired in realizing the principles of the reform, both in the work of National Planning Office and after that in the Economic Policy Department of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee. Currently, as premier, I am working on ensuring that the reform initiated by the country's leadership proceeds in the right direction. In Hungary, the helm, including that of government, is being taken over by a new, younger generation and the greater ferment in political life creates an opportunity and a challenge. I would consider it defeatist, even a sin, to return to some detached form of academic work. I would like to prove myself as a practicing politician.

[Lubczyk] What is the state of the Hungarian economy really like? Some people say that exaggeration in indicating difficulties is a tactic that has been adopted by the authorities.

[Nemeth] There is no question of difficulties being exaggerated or of some tactic. Keeping quiet about problems is not in our interest. Only an honest account of the situation, an analysis of it, viewing problems as they actually are, and taking appropriate action provides hope that we will find a way out of the crisis.

Our economy is struggling with serious functional problems. We have loss-making production, our foreign debt is high, the inflation rate is excessively high, and the standard of living is declining. We cannot spend as much as we need to on the humanitarian sphere—education, healthcare, and culture. In this difficult situation we have to ensure that the economy can function, and we must consistently implement a restructuring program. The Hungarian economy's involvement in international competition is declining. Low productivity and serious economic blunders have resulted in a high level of debt. This problem ties our hands to some extent and forces us into taking certain actions.

[Lubczyk] Are the reform proposals that you recently made to parliament ones that will at last produce the radical changes that are being awaited?

[Nemeth] We have found ourselves in a somewhat extraordinary situation from the historical point of view. While handicapped by the past (the enormous debt, the value crisis, and social tension), we have to solve the problem of creating a market economy and to go over to real democracy in a peaceful and evolutionary way. To accomplish this, we cannot make use of any historical recipe that lends itself to adaptation. I think that we have to look for a formula guaranteeing our future by taking account of national values, cultural traditions, and the unique features of our historical path. However, we will undoubtedly have to find a way out by ourselves.

The strategic goal is the profound modernization of socioeconomic relations, which naturally calls for changes to our model. The maintenance of the current model would destroy social relations, consume what remains of creative energy, and partial improvements to the present model would only enhance basic problems. We have to find a way out of the debt trap, eliminate loss-making activity, and curb inflation. We have to transform property relations and create a law-governed state. Unfortunately, we will have to bear the burden of the past for a long time to come, but I believe in the creative strength of the Hungarian people, as well as in effective support from international financial organizations and foreign capital. We cannot squander this advantageous moment in our history.

[Lubczyk] In an interview for KEPES 7, a close colleague of yours, Prof Rezső Nyers, minister of state for the economy, said that in the current situation the authorities can only be "managers of a crisis economy," and he added that citizens and enterprises will have to bear all the difficulties for another year. Do you agree with this?

[Nemeth] The most important task at the present time is indeed that of managing the crisis. However, we also have to bear in mind that our current decisions and ways of acting will leave their stamp on the future situation. As I already mentioned, the burdens entailed by our present moves will fall on all of society without exception. It is hard to predict how long this will continue. In our situation, I think that we cannot play at predicting the future, but should prepare programs and implement them on the basis of hard facts.

We recently set out a package of moves whose goal is an improvement in economic equilibrium this year. At the same time, we are working on a government strategy for the period of transition. This is because the current restrictive policy is outmoded and has been completely exhausted. We are very keen to stimulate enterprise, expand the domestic market, reorganize the system of property relations and of the material incentive system, and to execute a profound reform of anti-inflationary economic and social policy.

[Lubczyk] Previously you viewed the economy as a scholar, now, as premier, you have an opportunity to act. What could turn the Hungarian economy into a perfect organism—people, an economic model, wages?

[Nemeth] I do not believe that there is an economy that operates perfectly. Social and economic processes are incomparably more complex than the functioning of mechanisms, including the proverbial Swiss watch. However, in this case it is true that new knowledge and progressive ideological currents are taking root, are affecting the present system, and will change it sooner or later.

Today's Hungarian reality is full of contradictions and to an outside observer it may seem chaotic. I would be rather more inclined to say that our country is expectant, and it is already feeling the pains that stem from the fact that it is "carrying" a new, future model. We are sure that the current model has to be discarded. Maintaining the current model can only push us into a blind alley. The basic fault in the current model is that it has neglected man. It has not aided the formation and development of creative people on a large scale, as it has overlooked the importance of motivation for the individual and for small groups. It was based on short-term production objectives, which means that it did not possess a capacity for renewal. All this leads to social resistance, which cannot be broken by force, ideology, or power.

In view of the fact that the greatest technological changes in history have started in the world, we cannot risk shutting ourselves off from this process. At the same time, we realize that alongside technological reorganization, we must create a new system of ownership, organization, and production. We must create sociopolitical relations in which appropriate importance is attached to productivity, enterprise, competition, and moral probity. In other words, by way of real democracy, we must open the way for society to develop a new system of values connected with a new model of its own accord.

[Lubczyk] Does the present government team, which you recently chose to a rather large extent and in an unconventional way (without the prior endorsement of the party and the Patriotic People's Front) provide hope that things will be speeded up?

[Nemeth] Alongside the recent changes in the government, there have also been numerous changes in conditions. As a result of the government and the premier assuming more autonomy, the right to appoint, recall, and choose individual ministers as well, the related responsibility lie within the competence of the head of the cabinet. One of my considerations in choosing the new ministers was unanimity of opinion. I also could not overlook the fact of a change of generations in the government. Not all the members of the previous leadership wanted to travel the uneven road that lies ahead of us. That is why I thought it was right to bring members

of the younger generation into the team, specialists who are determined, enterprising, and who possess outstanding training and experience in various fields. I am convinced that a government formed in accordance with these principles will take a more resolute and responsible view of the situation in our country.

[Lubczyk] I have to ask you for an assessment of the political situation in Hungary. It seems to me that you are still a country that is traveling a road. Where does the road lead to?

[Nemeth] There is no doubt that we have recently traveled a long way in terms of Hungarian domestic life, especially since the 1988 MSZMP conference. The process of reforming political institutions has undergone an extraordinary acceleration: The MSZMP has come out in favor of the introduction of a multiparty system. Alternative movements have come into being, new political parties are being formed, and parties that once existed are resuming their activities. The activities of the National Assembly and the government are playing an important role in the process of implementing reforms. The parliament has passed a law on associations and the right of assembly, a law on strikes, and has passed a constitutional amendment concerning votes of confidence in the head of the government and his ministers. In addition to the preparation of a new electoral code, work is in progress on legislation concerning referendums, parties, information, freedom of conscience, and finally on a new constitution.

So I surely have a right to say that Hungary has embarked on a new path, a path of radical reform of the system of political and economic institutions, a path on which we want to finally part with the Stalinist model and replace it with a law-governed state and genuine civic democracy.

[Lubczyk] Kadar's departure saw the end of a certain era in Hungary. How would you assess the role of this politician in your postwar history in a few sentences? So much is said about the services that he performed; so why was he deprived of the honorary office of party president?

[Nemeth] Taking Janos Kadar's poor health into consideration, on 8 May of this year the MSZMP Central Committee plenum decided to release him from the burdens stemming from the office of party president and being a member of the Central Committee.

It seldom happens that a person's name serves to describe a certain period during a person's lifetime. Achievements as well as shortcomings are associated with Kadar's name. He is one of those Communists for whom the fate of the workers class was inseparably bound up with the fate of the nation. Hungarian identity and internationalism were not abstract concepts to

Kadar the practicing politician. Although opportunities were limited at that time, he worked at making the goals of socialism compatible with the interests of the people and the country.

He was always ready to reach agreement in the interest of national accord. We are not disparaging his achievements, but, at the same time, we cannot pass over his mistakes in silence. We realize that the difficulties experienced over the past 15-year period, our economic and political problems, are primarily the result of wrong decisions. However, we wish to continue our efforts to effect a renewal of socialism and enhance European cooperation.

[Lubczyk] You recently visited Poland. What were the results of your talks? I get the impression that in the sphere of cooperation, there continues to be more talk than action.

[Nemeth] During my talks with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, we reviewed bilateral relations and concluded that the level of economic cooperation in recent years has not measured up to the possibilities that have been created by the economic reforms in both our countries. We reached decisions aimed at stimulating Polish-Hungarian economic cooperation, which is at a low point and has stagnated. In our opinion, the most important tasks include the transition to more developed forms of cooperation by way of supporting the creation of joint enterprises, reducing the number of commercial contracts that are guaranteed by the state, and creating more opportunities for direct contacts between enterprises and entrepreneurs. It is very important to introduce new payment systems in economic relations and to jointly create conditions for currency convertibility.

This shows that there was no lack of plans and concepts at the meeting of the heads of governments. We know that fine words and signed agreements are not enough to achieve concrete results. That is why my government will mobilize our specialists into transforming beautiful words into concrete results.

[Lubczyk] Thank you.

Spokesman's News Briefing on Government Session
AU2606141289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 16 Jun 89 pp 1, 5

[Report by correspondent Maria Lakatos: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Proposal To Eliminate the State Office for Youth and Sport Affairs and the Office for Church Affairs—Receiving Stations for Refugees To Be Created—Information on Civilian Service—Personnel Decisions—Press Conference by Acting Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok"—with the participation of Defense Ministry State Secretary Lajos Morocz—in Budapest on 15 June]

[Excerpts] At its session of 15 June, the Council of Ministers listened to a report on the renewal of CEMA relations and the modernization of Hungarian-Soviet trade accounting.

The government modified its earlier decree on the implementation of the Labor Code and decided to establish a road fund [utalap].

In connection with the modification of the defense law, the Council of Ministers created a regulation on civilian service [as an alternative to compulsory military service].

The government reviewed the activity of the workers' militia. Modifying a previous decision stipulating the dual management of the workers militia, the government decided to place this body under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers. At the same time, the government commissioned an interministerial committee to work out the tasks connected to the new situation by the end of this year.

The Council of Ministers proposed that the Presidential Council cancel the previous decree of the State Office for Youth and Sports Affairs and eliminate the State Office for Church Affairs and the requirement to obtain state approval for certain church positions.

The government made a decision to establish refugee receiving stations.

The Council of Ministers reviewed the experiences of the latest National Assembly session and the implementation of the agreements achieved at the government-trade union meeting.

Following the session of the Council of Ministers, Zolt Bajnok, chief editor of MAGYAR HIRLAP and acting government spokesman, and Lajos Morocz briefed journalists. [passage omitted]

FIGYELO: Will those people doing alternative civilian service come under Army regulations?

Lajos Morocz: No, clearly not.

FIGYELO: What areas of work are being considered for civilian service? How will civilian service affect the fate of the Army engineering corps?

Lajos Morocz: The areas of work in question are primarily health care, welfare, water management, and environmental protection, that is, public utility works, not profit-oriented works.

We want to reduce the personnel of the engineering corps, and thus, the civilian service people will probably not replace them. [passage omitted]

NBC: Can we expect a volunteer Army in Hungary, instead of the present compulsory military service?

Lajos Morocz: I do not see any possibility for this in the near future, and both the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact countries have compulsory military service, with the exception of Great Britain. This system will probably remain in effect for a prolonged period on both sides, and thus in the Hungarian People's Republic too. [passage omitted]

FIGYELO: In connection with the refugees, do we accept everyone or only people who are qualified as political refugees?

Zolt Bajnok: I think that one can find the exact answer to this question in the stipulations and documents of the United Nations pertaining to the refugee issue. I admit that I could not quote these agreements now but I am convinced that they do not refer only to political refugees.

MAGYAR NEMZET: It has been said in various places that, among these refugees, it is not difficult at all for people to infiltrate our country who might have some provocative or diversionary purpose. I refer here to people from Romania. Is there any filter in action in Hungary to discover these people?

Zolt Bajnok: I can also presume only that there is such a filter, but I cannot tell you how efficient and strict this filter is. If this filter were too strict and cautious it would be equally as dangerous as if it were too lenient. I am convinced that less strict screening is the right way, because it contains less danger than anti-humane steps in the wake of too strict a screening. [passage omitted]

Presidential Council Makes Personnel Changes
LD2606153489 Budapest MTI in English
1258 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (MTI)—At the Monday session of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Presented F. Bruno Straub submitted a report on the official visit he paid to the Republic of Turkey from June 5 to 8 at the invitation of head of state, Kenan Evren. The Presidential Council approved the report.

The Presidential Council passed law decrees on the state consent required for filing some church posts, and on the abolition of the state office for church affairs and the state office for youth and sports.

The requirements of social pluralism make it necessary to revise the state's policy towards the churches and administrative management, and to carry out a reform of organization in accordance with the changed conditions

According to the modification, the filling of church posts will only be subject to state consent if the church dignitaries are appointed by organs outside Hungarian jurisdiction. In such cases, the filling of senior church posts is subject to separate agreements with the foreign organs in charge.

The Council of Ministers was authorized to determine the organizational issues related to the operation of churches, denominations and religious communities and exercise of religion.

From now on, the majority of the functions of sports management are to be met by the special sport federations and the Hungarian Olympic Committee. The basic organization of sports management is to be defined by the Council of Ministers.

The Presidential Council decided to establish an embassy in the capital of the Republic of Cyprus.

The council passed decisions on personnel affairs.

The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic relieved State Secretary Gabor Deak of his post with recognition of merits, with effect of July 1, 1989.

The Presidential Council relieved Andres Knopp, state secretary of culture and education, of his post with effect from June 30 1989.

The Presidential Council relieved Attila Madarasi, state secretary of finance, of his post with recognition of merits, because of retirement, with effect from June 30, 1989.

The Presidential Council relieved Imre Szabo, state secretary of industry, of his post with recognition of merits, with effect from July 1, 1989.

The Presidential Council appointed Peter Kunos to state secretary of industry, Ferenc Pusztai to state secretary of culture and education, and Laszlo Pal and Imre Szabo, manager of the Institute of Thermal and System Technology, to state secretaries of industry with effect from July 1, 1989. [sentence as received]

The President Council of the Hungarian People's Republic appointed Jozsef Gyorke ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary [country not specified]

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1000 GMT on 26 June adds the following: "The Presidential Council is modifying its own procedural rules. In accordance with this, the convening of the National Assembly, the proclamation of laws and the decreeing of referenda will no longer be within its competence. Further, the Presidential Council has declared that in the matter of those legally sentenced to death, it will suspend the substantive ruling on clemency appeals until the decreeing of referenda will no longer be at the level of the law. In other words, the Presidential Council has not made any decision on the clemency appeals that figure on the agenda at present, either. Finally, Ferenc Jeszenszky, who was a Supreme Court judge and from whom the Hungarian Peoples Republic's Order of merit Grade 4 was withdrawn in 1959, (?on account of his) activity in 1956, has been given back his decoration. It was

the justice minister who conducted an investigation in this matter, and it was he who proposed that the Presidential Council make this decision."]

Government Plans To Halt Uranium Mining
AU2706110389 Budapest MTI in English
1143 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (MTI)—The closure of Hungary's only uranium mine seems to be unavoidable, declared Minister of Industry Mr Ferenc Horvath, and added that in order to make a final decision, the government will discuss the state of affairs of uranium mining in September.

The minister pointed out that the Mecsek Ore Mining Company (southern-Hungary), the mine where uranium is mined in Hungary, is granted a state subsidy of 2.5 billion forints (USD 40 million) a year. The sum might amount to 5 billion forints by the mid-90s, since forecasts reveal that saturation and low prices on the uranium market may keep up for 6 or 8 years.

The total quantity of uranium mined in Hungary is delivered to the Soviet Union according to agreements which are in force until 1993, but the Soviet Union has let Hungary know that it may perhaps withdraw from demanding full completion, and that the agreement may be suspended as early as this August.

Due to lack of consent by the Soviet Union, it has so far been forbidden to make public the annual quantity, costs, and prices in Hungarian uranium mining.

The closing down of the uranium mine will for several years cost the Hungarian state budget even more expenditure, since besides having to maintain the state support, it will have to gradually create at least 5,000 new jobs for the mine's 7,000 workers. Additionally, the further recultivation and environmental protection costs are estimated to amount to 4 billion forints in two years.

Hungarian-British Cooperation Talks Held
AU2606142289 Budapest MTI in English
1532 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—This year's session of the Hungarian-British Joint Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technical-Scientific Cooperation closed its Budapest session on Thursday. On a Hungarian proposal, negotiations were focussed on ways of involving British working capital in the Hungarian economy, as envisaged by British politicians. The Hungarian side emphasized its requirement for speeding up the implementing process of the agreement signed with the European Community, in September last year. In addition it also urged bringing forward the deadline set for abolishing import quotas applied to Hungarian products, to 1992, and for negotiations on trade concessions for Hungarian agricultural products and customs duties, outlined in the agreements, to reach a practical phase.

Hungary requested the extension of the agreement to products supervised by the European coal and steel community, and for the EC to remove Hungary from the classification of state trading countries.

The feasibility of concluding an asymmetric free trade agreement between EC and Hungary was also discussed. Through this agreement Hungary would improve its export position on the EC markets by being granted temporary unilateral customs and other concessions.

It was ascertained by the joint committee that since 1983 goods exchange between the two countries increased by 50 per cent, with cooperation agreements and joint ventures a stabilising role in relations. Out of the nine Hungarian-British joint companies currently in operation, seven were founded last year and the most important is Shell-Interag Co. Ltd. There are prospects for setting up joint companies in railway carriage manufacture, pharmaceutical industry and the chemical industry.

Italian Communist Party Leader on Reform
AU2606135589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 17 Jun 89 p 6

[Interview with Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, by unidentified correspondent: "Occhetto: It Is Possible To Reform Socialism"—in Budapest, date not given]

[Text] Achille Occhetto was also present in Heroes Square where he laid a wreath on behalf of the Italian Communist Party [PCI]. Our correspondent interviewed him.

[Question] What made you come to Budapest and personally participate in the funeral?

[Occhetto] Hungary is living through the beginning of a multiparty system and democracy, and therefore it is important to stress that Imre Nagy was a Communist who had to die unjustly. I felt it was necessary to personally represent the Italian Communists. My goal is to show that the struggle for freedom and democracy is not necessarily accompanied by conservatism, and democracy can also be implemented on the soil of real socialism.

[Question] Was this not a competition with the Italian Socialist Party with which you disagree on these issues, and whose General Secretary Bettino Craxi also came to Budapest?

[Occhetto] This is not part of the election campaign. One should rather explain this by the fact that we concluded our evaluation of Hungary in 1956 by changing our previous opinion that a counterrevolution had taken place in 1956. Two days before the elections to the European Parliament, this is not an attempt to make the most of the situation, but rather a sign of courage, because we do not know how this evaluation will affect Sunday's [18 June] elections. I think that most Italian Communists agree with me.

[Question] In recent weeks, you also referred to the competition and debates that emerged in connection with the elections to the European Parliament, debates in which questions emerged, such as whether it is possible to reform socialism.

[Occhetto] Everything that is taking place in China is a dramatic and tragic experience of the past period. This has shaken the hope that socialism can be reformed. At the same time, I have come to Hungary with the hope that the reform of socialism is possible in a pluralistic system free of violence.

[Question] In view of all this, what is your opinion of the reform processes in Eastern Europe; the Hungarian, Polish, and Soviet reforms?

[Occhetto] I think that Gorbachev has started a very interesting and new process and, if I understand it correctly, he questioned what was said by Brezhnev, namely that the "prevailing socialism" is free of conflicts. In reality, conflicts will also be present in the course of history, and the question is whether it is possible to deal with them in a democratic way and free of violence.

[Question] This morning you met with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. What is your impression from the talks?

[Occhetto] I expressed the same ideas at the meeting. I think these ideas were received well. Without providing details of the talks, I had the impression that the general secretary was advancing on the path of renewal, and I also wish him to continue to advance on this path.

[Question] In your view, what is the situation of the PCI and what are the chances of left-wing cooperation 3 months after the PCI Congress?

[Occhetto] We have had difficulties because, obviously, all the crises that occur in the East European countries have given rise to extremely serious problems for us. These crises caused difficulties for us, because hostile propaganda has begun which greatly affects public opinion, namely that we are responsible for all that is happening in the East. We have started a new course in which we say that there is a need for democratization in the East and West alike. Of course, this new course cannot have an immediate effect. However, I think that this could facilitate the cooperation of all left-wing forces in our country.

[Question] A study appeared recently in L'UNITA and the main idea of this study on socialism and reforms was that the crisis of a system does not mean the failure of an idea. What is your opinion?

[Occhetto] The crisis of a totalitarian system does not mean that we should turn to the right or accept a conservative position. All the more so because there are also great contradictions in the West, and the economy

of the developed world is based on the exploitation of the "Third World." However, the Stalinist positions in the East provided an alibi for Western conservatives; that is to say, these positions strengthened those who wanted to destroy the Western left wing. In my view, it is possible to establish a new left wing which will exceed the blocs, will think in terms of a united world, and will confront any conservatism in the world. We think that the goal of this new left wing is to focus on and implement the true ideas of socialism.

New Religious Denomination Legalized

AU2906092689 Budapest MTI in English
1328 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI)—The Hungarian religious community of Jehovah's Witnesses has become a religious denomination recognized by law. The State Office for Church Affairs declared the community as recognized under the law on the free exercise of religion and the organizational rules put forward by the community.

Jaruzelski Attends Deputy Floor Group Meeting
LD2906225789 Warsaw PAP in English
2120 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 29—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] deputy floor group today began another meeting devoted to programmatic matters.

Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in the first part of the debates. The floor group also discussed issues relating to the new set of regulations of the group and issues associated with preparations of a questionnaire on the experience from the electoral campaign. The debates were presided over by chairman of the floor group, Marian Orzechowski. The group is to continue work Friday [30 June] afternoon.

At the Thursday meeting Deputy Tadeusz Fiszbach presented, on behalf of a team set up last week, proposals of the directions of work of the floor group in the 10th term, in the context of the Sejm's work and party's activities. He recalled that for the first time ever the floor group, even though it is the biggest, is not in the majority and has to operate differently than before.

As concerns the method of work of the floor group, Fiszbach proposed, among other things, that people of independent and controversial views be invited to discussions at its forum. This would allow one to look at various problems from a different point of view.

During Thursday's discussion Deputy Marek Bartos forwarded a motion that the deputy floor group address the PUWP Central Committee Political Bureau to designate Marian Orzechowski [words indistinct] chairman (?of the group) and member of the Political Bureau to conduct further negotiations with parliamentary partners on all matters pertaining to the functioning of the Sejm and national [words indistinct]

The editorial team presented an improved version of the draft set of regulations.

In the course of the debates the members of the group were informed that the PUWP Central Committee plenum would be convened Friday morning, June 30.

A press spokesman of the PUWP floor group was elected in what is a novelty in the group. Marek Krol of Poznan, the editor in chief of the "WPROST" weekly was elected to the post.

Jaruzelski Interviewed on 'Transformations'
LD2906134889 Warsaw PAP in English
2054 GMT 28 Jun 89

["Jaruzelski's Interview"—PAP headline]

[Text] [PAP part 1 not received] However, we managed not only to reach consensus but also to make important steps on the road to the Polish mode of parliamentary

democracy. But certainly perils continue to exist. It is necessary to do everything possible, and this refers to everybody, to evade emotions, extremes, confrontations. Today, we particularly need reason, moderation and responsibility.

The verdict of the electorate was severe for us, but not only for us. Also for the independent candidates, the so called people of the centre, and particularly for some people and Catholic milieux associated with the church. Thus, it seems that not only PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] will draw conclusions from this fact.

We do not shut ourselves to the experiences of our friends in the USSR and Hungary. We are open to everything that is new and that passes the test of time. Still, I cannot refrain here from making two remarks. Firstly: I do not want to argue who did more, who went further in the reforms. I think that in this respect we do not lag behind. Secondly: Every party acts in a sovereign way, in line with the historically shaped conditions of their own countries. Today, this principle is unquestionable.

The transformations taking place in Poland are observed and attentively analysed abroad. Also by our friends and allies. Due to her advancement in the process of reforms Poland is a kind of a test ground. We also, as I have already said, are eager to make use of the experiences of other socialist countries. A failure of the Polish experiment would naturally have a negative impact on the process of transformations within socialism. It would undoubtedly have negative implications for the whole of the East-West relations.

Important changes in this respect are also taking place in the West. All signs are that the process of rescheduling of at least the part of the Polish debt, will be launched soon. The changes for credits will emerge. One can say that the horizon has cleared up, the situation is changing visibly. The trend is positive but one must not simplify the problem. The most depends on ourselves, on our abilities to overcome the most severe problems such as inflation, lack of economic balance, particularly, of the market equilibrium.

Our partners have to know that they have to do with a stable country that offers guarantees as to the favourable implementation of new financial and economic agreements.

At present the economic condition is fragile, unsteady. In effect, every sign of socio-political instability is immediately reflected in the market situation.

PUWP Central Committee Holds Plenary Meeting
LD3006113389 Warsaw PAP in English
0951 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 30—The PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee met for a plenary meeting here today in connection with preparations for the first sitting of new Polish Parliament. PUWP First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski presides over the meeting.

Spokesman Comments on Need To Assist Poland
LD2906160389 Warsaw PAP in English
1415 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 29—"The present Polish foreign policy will be continued in the coming period with particular regard to economic issues," Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski told the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily today.

"We are an open country which pursues a policy of reforms. Our foreign policy is open to all azimuths. Its main aim is to support the process of reforms and the country's socio-economic development," he added.

Commenting on the promised French and British assistance for Poland, Staniszewski said that "in its measurable aspect this is an important but also limited aid. It brings more political than economic support. We realize that this is not the last word of our creditors, especially in the context of the upcoming visit of U.S. President George Bush."

"I think helping Poland is not only in our interest but also in the interest of our partners and allies because lack of progress in the materialisation of reforms in this country will increase the number of their opponents which would not be good for the implementation of the round table accords," Staniszewski warned.

Walesa Answers Questions on Economy, Politics
LD2906214289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Correspondent Antoni Popow commentary on Lech Walesa's weekly press conference in Gdansk]

[Text] Today's press conference started with Piotr Nowina-Konopka, spokesman for the Solidarity chairman, reading a statement on yesterday's deliberations at the National Executive Committee. Among other things, the statement mentions Solidarity's attitude to the governments latest economic decisions. Among other things, Solidarity states that the economic situation is dramatic and cannot remain so in the long term if the government wants to avoid social disturbances. The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity states that the Polish economy needs radical reforms not price increases. After the statement was read out, Lech Walesa answered questions from journalists, mainly to do with the economic crisis. One of these was what should the government do to improve the situation in the country?

[Begin Walesa recording] If I was to put it in one sentence then I would say that the subject of indexation has already been settled at the round table, [words indistinct] how to introduce it. In any case, the method was also given. The government could do this. On the other hand, it did not do this, and it still increased, and is increasing prices—those prices which the government directly controls as well as

others, those that work enterprises control, and so on. The government is answerable for everything. It cannot be otherwise, as everything is at this moment in the hands of the government.

The elections showed that society supports the direction of reforms decisively. On the other hand there are many different ways of taking part. We have always said that we do not want to take over power—our aim is different—and here the matter ends. We must and will find solutions. On the other hand it must be remembered that today we are entering into these arrangements that have a subtext that says that we should enter into a coalitional government and work together more, gentlemen. Well, we were not together for 45 years, and now, at this moment, coming together on these conditions would only be taking responsibility onto oneself—responsibility for a situation we cannot be blamed for. That is why I do not yet know how it will be worked out. However, according to what I put forward at the meeting with senators and deputies, most probably we will remain in opposition; we very strongly support a government that goes in the direction of reforms pluralism and democracy. On the other hand, wherever there are signs of it moving away from reforms, economic as much as political, we oppose this, we do not allow this, and we struggle. We are an opposition. We are responsible for the country and we will try to protect it from unnecessary losses and we will, as far as we can, participate in the resolution of all these problems. We must pull Poland along in accord; us, to the extent of 35 percent and the coalitional side to the extent of 65 percent. We must pull along in accord. We must again convince society and ourselves, that rather than waste time getting offended because someone has won or getting overwhelmed that someone has won, one must simply get down to the matter that is most important. [end recording]

Lech Walesa was also asked what his opinion was on the subject of the candidate for president of the Polish People's Republic.

[Begin Walesa recording] There are even more candidates for president in Poland than we think. Not everyone can be, not everyone wants to, but let's not get worried about that. In Poland there are quite a few willing candidates that one side and the other will agree to, to greater or lesser extent. I deeply believe that this problem, albeit a difficult one, will yet turn out well for us. We will choose a president that all sides will tolerate—too bad, but they will tolerate it. [end recording]

Solidarity Official Queried on Role of Opposition
AU3006073389 Vienna Television Service in German
2000 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, adviser of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and editor in chief of the weekly SOLIDARITY, by Joanna Radzyner; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Sharp increases in the price of sugar, fuel, alcohol, and cigarettes have led to cases of industrial action in Poland. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has stated that he

did not know how long his organization will be able to curb dissatisfaction among the people. He continues to be opposed to participation in the government, because he does not want to assume responsibility for misery that he has not helped to create. Walesa advisor Tadeusz Mazowiecki shares this view.

[Mazowiecki] I think that stable relations must be established between the opposition that has now been legalized and the coalition government camp. This is responsibility for the state, and not responsibility for the government. I think that we should now assume responsibility for the state, not for the government.

[Radzyner] However, this poses certain dangers. A kind of disappointment prevails that victory cannot really be consumed and cannot really be enjoyed.

[Mazowiecki] You are right. Solidarity is facing the same problem as in 1981, that we have to exercise a certain restraint. This is not easy and not popular. However, every other way would endanger everything that we have achieved. I think that what I mentioned—stable relations between the opposition and the coalition government camp—do not mean stability that does not move. We must move on, we must proceed on our path, we must [word indistinct] we must create democratic conditions in Poland in many areas. Stability does not mean standstill. However, it means that progress can only be achieved through evolution.

[Radzyner] I think that this is understood by the elites on both sides, but not by the masses. There are differences between fundamentalist and pragmatists within the movement, within Solidarity.

[Mazowiecki] We knew from the beginning that this victory has its limits. One has to see this victory within a framework that was accepted before the elections: 65 percent, 35 percent. We scored a victory, but we cannot abandon this framework without endangering everything. This is understandable from a psychological point of view. It is understandable that people expect more and different things. One must understand this situation. The same people, however, would criticize us if we endangered everything and if they had to bear the consequences.

Czestochowa Transport Workers Begin Strike
LD3006081389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0700 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Czestochowa and surrounding areas have been deprived of local transport this morning. Employees of the Municipal Transport Enterprise have begun strike action.

Transport Workers End Strike
LD3006105289 Warsaw PAP in English
1006 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Czestochowa, June 30—Bus and tram drivers in Czestochowa returned to work after a six-hour strike.

The strike was organized without the approval of trade unions which however helped in resolving the conflict.

Further Transport Strikes in Torun, Chelmno
LD3006105689 Warsaw PAP in English
1005 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Turon, June 30—Drivers of passenger vehicles and technical workers of the Torun and Chelmno intercity bus network PKS branches went on strike today. Drivers of city transport in Grudziadz are also on strike. All striking crews demanded higher wages. Talks are in progress.

Health Service Employees Demonstrate in Warsaw
LD2906223789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Employees of the health service, associated in the Solidarity trade union, demonstrated in Warsaw this afternoon. They met under the monument to Kopernik, and walked to Royal Castle Square. The demonstrators, including future deputies and senators, made an appeal to the assembled. A statement was read in front of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, in which participants of the protest march, on behalf of the whole milieu, are demanding, among other things, regulation of wages, an increase in expenditure assigned for health care, the acceleration of work on reform in the health service, and the consistent implementation of all round-table agreements.

Minister of Finance Interviewed on Inflation
AU2806165389 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH
in Polish 23-25 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Wroblewski, minister of finance, by Wojciech Gladkowski and Boguslaw Wasik: "The Price of Equilibrium"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] How many zlotys has your ministry printed since the beginning of the year?

[Wroblewski] We do not print money; we are only able to issue the amounts we have to borrow from the Polish National Bank, in the event of our own revenues being insufficient. Decisions in these matters are made by the Sejm, which fixes the maximum deficit of the budget and the total credit that the bank can advance to us.

[Question] The Sejm has accepted a deficit level in the area of Z1 trillion. Is there a possibility of plugging this hole in the budget, seeing that the price increases allowed for in this year's annual plan have already been realized in the first 4 months?

[Wroblewski] I am afraid not. There is a distinct possibility that the deficit will increase and in those circumstances we shall have to ask ourselves from where is the money to come. We have only mentioned price increases, but there is also the problem of wage increases. The rate of wage increases has far exceeded the provisions of the plan. Prices are not keeping pace with wage increases.

[Question] Nevertheless, demands for wage increases are said to be a result of price increases. For 8 years now, we have not been able to break the spiral of inflation. Are we condemned to print more and more zlotys which are not covered by goods?

[Wroblewski] It is a vicious circle and one which will have to be broken at some time. It is a difficult and, socially, a very painful task. Psychology also plays a part here. When we purchase consumer durables such as cassette recorders, washing machines, or refrigerators, namely products whose prices are rising particularly steeply, we see how the purchasing power of our incomes has fallen. From this we conclude that all of our expenditure, including that part spent on food, must have risen by a comparable amount. However, we only buy industrial articles once in several years. Most of our income is spent on food, which does not automatically mean that the price of food is rising the fastest. This, among other things, is one of the reasons put forward by workers in their demands to secure the next round of wage increases. Trying to satisfy these wage demands, the managers have to seek additional profits by charging higher prices for their products, and the spiral continues upwards. [passage omitted]

[Question] Nonetheless, prices are rising continuously. At the same time one notes that there is no comparable increase of goods, including food, on the market. No wonder then that the consumer sees the reforms as ever-increasing price increases.

[Wroblewski] We must first decide what we would like to buy, and then what we have to buy. Over 40 percent of the family budget in Poland is spent on food. We demanded cheap food for a long time and the state kept prices low. Nobody bothered about the profitability of food production. Cheap food inevitably means high subsidies for its production. The money for these subsidies, among other sources, comes from the high taxes levied on consumer durables, for example, televisions and automobiles, and this explains the high prices of these products. The taxes however, flow to the state treasury and not to the producer of these luxury goods. Thus, we have a paradox. The producer is taxed highly on his high-priced products and is left with nothing which he can reinvest and thus increase production. The state treasury currently subsidizes food production to the tune of Z3 trillion annually. After the next round of food procurement price increases, the food subsidy will be increased by almost another Z1 trillion, and until the price of food rises, we are in danger of literally strangling the consumer durables industry with taxes. [passage omitted]

[Question] Does the present development of the socio-political situation enable us to define the price which we will have to pay for such reforms?

[Wroblewski] We must realize that our earnings have to reflect the amount of available goods on the market. Wage increases will not improve the real purchasing power of our incomes because, quite simply, we are not producing sufficient goods which could absorb this extra money. Wage levels have to be tied to the actual level of consumption. The fixing of the level of consumption would be done by referring to a basket of necessary basic commodities. Not all people have an equal means of access to goods. There may be people who have sufficient means but will not be able to find the goods they want because these goods may be very scarce. It is thus necessary to halt the increase in real wages and at the same time, to keep the levels of consumption constant. It is not a question of mopping up hot money by continuous price increases. We must look at the structure of the economy and change the type and the ways of production. It is therefore imperative to close down enterprises that are costly, inefficient, and waste energy and raw materials. Their shareholders should see to this. [passage omitted]

GNA Session Opens; Ceausescu, Elena Present
*AU2906113089 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0800 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Text] Proceedings of the ninth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] have opened this morning in Bucharest. On their arrival in the Parliament Hall, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were welcomed with prolonged applause in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

At the beginning of the proceedings, Comrade Nicolae Giosan, GNA chairman, took the floor. On behalf of all representatives in the great legislative forum of our country, he voiced the satisfaction and boundless joy and complete adherence to the decision of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee to reelect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an ardent patriot, brilliant revolutionary militant, and genial founder of Socialist Romania, to the highest office of secretary general of the party at the 14th RCP Congress.

The GNA deputies, just like all our people, understand better than ever that the great achievements obtained in the socioeconomic development of our country are closely linked to the Ninth RCP Congress, a congress that freed the creative forces, thus giving a strong impetus to the homeland's development in all fields of activity.

Under the cupola of the country's great forum, the participants voiced their feelings of profound esteem and appreciation for the constant care of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to continuously perfect the parliamentary democracy and the involvement of the GNA in the implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of Socialist Romania. They reasserted their ardent and complete adherence to the decision of the recent RCP plenum to reelect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the office of secretary general of the party, a sure guarantee that Romania will continue its unflinching progress on the path of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and will advance toward communism.

With loud and prolonged applause the deputies and guests expressed the whole nation's feelings of profound satisfaction and complete adherence to the decision of the RCP plenum to reelect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the high office of RCP secretary general during the 14th RCP Congress.

Then the GNA unanimously adopted the following agenda:

1. Validation of the election of certain deputies to the GNA;
2. The government report on the fulfillment of the plan for the first 6 months of this year and measures to fulfill plans in the second half and the whole of 1989;
3. Draft law on ensuring and controlling the quality of products and services;

4. Draft law on the rational management, protection, and ensurance of the good quality of waters;

5. Draft laws for approving decrees which include norms with power of law issued by the State Council;

On the first point of the agenda, Comrade Nicolae Mihalache, chairman of the Validation Commission, presented the report of this commission on partial elections that took place on 19 February 1989, during which Comrade Irimie Catargiu was elected to Electoral District No 6/Petrosani, Hunedoara County and Comrade Stefan Guse to Electoral District No 35/Magurele, Bucharest Municipality.

The GNA unanimously approved the report of the commission and the elected deputies took the oath of allegiance and devotion to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Next, on the second point on the agenda, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, read the government report on the fulfillment of the plan for the first 6 months of this year and measures to fulfill plans in the second half and the whole of 1989. Within the great forum of the country, at the beginning of his report the speaker expressed his complete adherence to the RCP Central Committee decision to reelect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the high office of RCP general secretary during the 14th RCP Congress. He expressed his complete belief that the reelection to the helm of the party of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an outstanding revolutionary and ardent patriot, represents the sure guarantee of ensuring the progress and the implementation of the great programs for Romania's socioeconomic development in the next 5-year plan and up to the years 2000 and 2010. Further, the speaker emphasized some of the achievements obtained in the first 6 months of this year, stressing that an important increase in production had been recorded. However, in some branches, the production capacities have not been appropriately used and the achieved production has been below the plan provisions. The prime minister of the government said that in the next period decisive measures will be taken to fulfill all targets for this half and for the whole of 1989.

Next Comrade Manea Manescu read the report on the draft law on ensuring and controlling the quality of products and services.

Then Comrade Deputy Ioan Badea read the report on the draft law on the rational management, protection, and the ensurance of the good quality of waters.

The joint report on the permanent commissions regarding these draft laws was presented by Comrade Elena Pugna.

The GNA proceedings are continuing.

Session Ends; Plan, Bills Passed

*AU2906185189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1806 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/6/1989—After the conclusion of debates, the Grand National Assembly [GNA] passed unanimously the Governmental Report on the Implementation of the Plan for the First Six Months of the Year and Measures for Fulfilling the Plan for the Second Half of and the Entire Year 1989.

Next, after discussing each bill by articles, the Assembly passed unanimously the Law on Ensuring and Controlling the Quality of Products and Services and the Law on Rationally Managing, Protecting and Ensuring the Quality of Water, as well as the Laws on Approving the Decrees Carrying Norms With Power of Law Issued by the State Council.

As the agenda was completed, Grand National Assembly Chairman Nicolae Giosan declared closed the ninth session of the ninth Grand National Assembly.

Ceausescu Cables Canadian Party Leader Kashtan
*AU2906143589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
27 Jun 89 p 5*

[Birthday message from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, to William Kashtan, chairman of the Communist Party of Canada]

[Text] To Comrade William Kashtan, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada:

On your 80th birthday, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and on my own behalf, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you warm congratulations and best wishes for good health and personal happiness and for new successes in your long-standing activity as a communist militant, constantly devoted to promoting the fundamental interests of the working people in Canada.

I express my belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the Communist Party of Canada will continue to develop for the mutual benefit of our countries and peoples and in the interest of the cause of independence, peace, and socialism in the world.

Ceausescu Congratulates Iran's Leader Khamene'i
*AU2906110389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
27 Jun 89 p 5*

[Message from Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on election to office of Iran's leader]

[Text] To Mr Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran and president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran

On the occasion of your election to office of leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you sincere congratulations and best wishes for success in fulfilling the important mission entrusted to you in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Iran.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my belief that the relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Islamic Republic of Iran will continue to expand and develop in the future, on the basis of understandings we jointly reached during your visit to Bucharest at the beginning of this year, for the benefit of our countries and peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and international understandings.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Grants Interview to Algerian Weekly
*AU2906181089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1023 GMT 29 Jun 89*

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview With the Algerian Weekly REVOLUTION AFRICAINE"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest (AGERPRES) 28/6/1989—As reported, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on 21 June the special envoys of the Algerian weekly "REVOLUTION AFRICAINE"—Larab Mohamed and Lazhari Labter, whom he granted an interview. By answering the questions he was asked the RCP and Romanian state leader approaches the following problems:

The Process of Renewals

There is much talk about change, modernization, reform and restructuring, but this talk is going on mainly in the socialist countries and in a number of countries that have taken the path of independent socioeconomic development.

Why do I stress this? Because, in fact, not only is a thorough analysis of the present situation not being made in the developed capitalist countries, but an attempt is being made to sell the idea that the capitalist society is all-powerful and allegedly does not have to cope with very serious problems. That the situation is altogether different is common knowledge.

First of all on a world plane, the developed capitalist countries have continued their neocolonialist policy of oppressing scores of peoples, making tens of billion dollars in annual profits at the expense of these nations and in that way actually maintaining a certain state—I would not call it welfare, but one that can solve some socioeconomic problems.

And yet, with more than 38 million jobless, even in the developed capitalist countries, unemployment has been chronic in this decade. Poverty has grown. According to official data, there are in the United States of America more than 32 million of poor people today—nearly 30 percent more than in 1980. The same is the situation in a number of European countries like Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and others. Overall, the poor people in the developed capitalist countries exceed 100 million. There is a growing number of people who have no shelter and must sleep in underground stations, under the bridges, or other such places. The number of illiterates has been rising and drug addiction has increased alarmingly. There is a growing rate of criminality and other negative social phenomena, a strong proof of the gravity of the situation in developed capitalist countries. The ruling circles in the respective countries have failed to draw the necessary conclusions yet, and do not plan a new policy to solve all these problems from their root, even though they speak about all this.

As far as the socialist countries are concerned, there is indeed much talk about change, reform restructuring and modernization.

Generally, I think it is natural that the present state of things in one country or another—not only in socialist but in all the states, should be subject to a thorough analysis to enable the necessary conclusions on the future socioeconomic development, on the higher welfare of peoples—materially and spiritually.

What could be said, however, is that there are countries that did not make this thorough analysis in due time, that they did not realize that socialism cannot be built according to set patterns, to "single models," to dogmatic conceptions. After all, it is well known that there were socialist countries where precisely these negative states of things were given "law" or "principle" status which they held for decades.

Therefore, we think it is only natural that the question of improving one's activity should be raised in socialist countries, by any people. What we do not understand is that this is not always being done on socialist principles, from the angle of the interests of developing socialism. Unfortunately, sometimes this is being done from a position of underrating and even negating the socialist principles, and of reverting to capitalist forms, which is definitely negative, against the interests of the respective peoples and of socialism, no doubt about that.

As far as Romania is concerned, since the Ninth Congress of the Party in 1965 it has taken a critical stance on the ways to socialism and its development. There are more than twenty years since we put an end to many negative things concerning the "single model," dogmatism, assuming that socialism should be achieved by applying the principles of scientific socialism and general objective laws to the realities in each country. We then

restored confidence in our own force, the Romanian people's dignity and will to be full master of its country, to make its own decisions on Romania's socioeconomic development paths.

For that purpose, we achieved a new, democratic system of socioeconomic management. We started from the principles of self-administration self-management and self-financing in all spheres of activity. We have councils of working people that manage the socioeconomic activity in all areas. In industry, at least 30 percent of their members are workers. Certainly, in agriculture the great majority are farmers, and in science, education, culture—people from those sectors, but they are joined by workers in other spheres, too.

We set up local bodies and nationwide organisms. We may say that we really created a new system of revolutionary worker democracy with workers, farmers, intellectuals and other working people taking a direct part in the country's home and foreign policy-making.

Also the activity of state bodies was improved. Generally, we have improved the system of discussing socioeconomic development questions, the country's home and foreign policy with the people. Therefore, we think the democratic system in Romania played an outstanding role in the strengthening of people's unity, in the fulfilment of the socioeconomic growth programmes. I must say that this shows in the development of industry, agriculture, science and culture, in the improvement of the general living standard, materially and spiritually. For instance, the Romanian industrial production has grown 135 times since 1944 and 120 times since the Ninth Party Congress. Agricultural output has increased ten times since 1944, almost seven times since the Ninth Congress; the national income has risen 40 times—33 times or so since the Ninth Congress.

So, knowing how socialism has developed also in other countries, we hold the view that the concern for improvement—for modernization, for restructuring as they call it in some countries—should not bring a negation of the achievements of socialism, it should assert its force and show in new measures the aim of which is to strengthen the socialist—all people's and cooperative—property, impart dynamism to socialist development, and more powerfully strengthen the economic might of each country, raise the material and spiritual living standard, and achieve social equity and justice.

As I said in the beginning, our view is that today's world problems call for an end to the old policy of inequality and oppression, for the ensurance of new interstate relations—of equality, mutual advantage—and also for social equity, social justice on an (?international) plane.

If this is not achieved, there can be no talk about renewal, about modernization, in any state.

We are convinced that the questions of renewal and modernization that are raised today will be better understood and that socialist principles, the principles of social justice and equality will assert themselves, that sharp changes will have to be made in the capitalist world itself.

The Multiparty System

Indeed, there are socialist countries where the introduction of the multiparty system is being considered.

Obviously, when the class society no longer exists, when a society of social justice and equity is being built—which the socialist system must do—several political parties are an anachronism. In the new conditions, the multiparty system is no longer an objective demand. On the contrary, it is a step back, not forward, in the political administration of society.

Democracy, the participation of all classes and all peoples in the administration of society can and must be achieved not with several parties, but with new forms of management and the participation of the masses in the administration of society.

In the context of the discussions that are going on internationally, we cannot help asking ourselves: What kind of democracy can there be in those countries where decisions are made by monopolies, where poverty is actually growing, and living condition are deteriorating?

The so-called democracy in the capitalist countries is a front for inequality and the rule of the rich over the poor. I do not deny—and I want to make myself clear about it—the necessity of democratic forms in capitalism. I even think that their development is a necessity. But I do not think that socialism should copy this system; socialism would have to develop new forms of genuine democracy.

So, that is why I personally am against a return to the multiparty system—but this is also the view of our party. Such a return does not make socialism any stronger; it actually, makes it weaker.

The foreign debt

The principal cause of foreign debts lies in these two very serious facts of world relations—financial and economic—one cannot help underlining that the credit-seeking countries also have a certain responsibility. Of course, this is beyond the scope of our discussion. I only mention it because, in finding solutions to their future problems and in conceiving their socioeconomic development, the developing countries should promote a better policy of using their own means and no longer rely only on credits from developed countries which, not only have virtually been no aid, but have made poor countries poorer. Undoubtedly, the question now is to draw the

necessary conclusions for a fast solution of the developing countries' foreign debt problems and the building of a new international economic order.

As far as Romania is concerned, I must say it openly, it also made the mistake to resort to credits, it, too, thought—wrongly—that they would help it solve some of its problems. The facts were quite different as a more than 20 percent rise in interest rates made the credits taken at one time twice larger. Owing to the analysis we made in 1980 we reached the conclusion that we should repay our foreign debt in the shortest possible time, or else we could not ensure our country's independent socioeconomic development and successfully build the socialist society. We realized that as long as we had to pay back credits at very high interest rates the Romanian economy could not develop appropriately. So, we concentrated on the liquidation of this debt.

Therefore, there is no miracle at all. In fact, as is known, no miracle has ever been made in any field. The full repayment of the debt this year is the result of the policy we have pursued to abolish dependence—of any kind—on other states and ensure Romania's socioeconomic development on its own. By promoting such a policy we broadly developed international economic cooperation and collaboration with all states, without any distinction, on the basis of fully equal rights, mutual advantage and inacceptance of any condition from anyone.

Of course, efforts had to be made. But I must say that those efforts did not check Romania's development. On the contrary, had we not started to pay back, our socioeconomic situation would have been worse now. I shall only give two examples. In the span of time from 1980 till 1989 we realized 2,000 million lei worth of investment, or about US dollars 200. Today, anyone can see our achievements in the growth of production forces, of industry, of agriculture, of the other sectors, in housing and sociocultural construction. During this period not only have the standard of living or the working people's incomes not dropped, but remuneration and pensions have been raised twice, which really accounts for an about 20 percent rise. All this proves the might of our socialist society, the capacity of our people that abolished foreign domination to make a new, independent life, for itself as it wishes.

The Negative Effects of the Current Economic Crisis and the Ways of Counteracting Them

The developing countries were the most affected. All in all, not only did the developing countries make no economic or social progress in the last ten years but their situation grew worse and this, I say it again, is the result of an unjust, inequitable policy promoted by the financial and banking capital, by monopolies and by developed capitalist countries. But, the economic crisis affected virtually all states to a greater or lesser extent. As I have

mentioned, it strongly affected also the developed capitalist countries. Doubtlessly, Romania also suffered the consequences of the world economic crisis.

However, I think I should also add to what I said so far that the huge military spending is also a very important factor of the deterioration of the world economic situation, since the over US dollars 1,200 billion spent on arming every year adversely affected the peoples' socioeconomic development and the resolution of the social questions of many countries.

Arming made many countries sharply cut their investment in the economy and decrease their accumulation rate and development fund, and this is true also for the socialist countries. But life, socioeconomic development, facts so far have shown that progress, and a higher standard of living cannot be ensured otherwise than an accumulation rate and socioeconomic development.

In consideration of all this, Romania has taken action in principally two directions. On the one hand, we ensured a high accumulation rate, by earmarking every year up to 33 percent of the national income for development. With this as a basis, we could develop industry, agriculture, transport, and implement a vast housing and sociocultural construction program. It goes without saying that, in the beginning, all that limited the consumption fund but as the national income rose we could really and steadfastly increase the population's consumption fund and ensure the general advancement of the country.

Therefore no country, whatever its social system, will be able to progress economically and socially unless it develops its production forces or makes the necessary appropriation for development. No one can consume everything one produces. Anyone who pursues development must make the needed appropriations for an adequate development programme set on the latest advances in science and technology, on production forces in general. Otherwise society cannot advance, nor can its welfare and the socioeconomic independence of the country be ensured.

As I have mentioned, we have developed our relations with all states, without distinction. We started and start from the idea that an active participation in the world division of labour, in the general exchange of material and spiritual assets is a vital socioeconomic development demand for any state as well as for a better world economy apt to ensure the progress and welfare of each people.

The Modernization of Romanian Localities

As concerns the development of settlements in our homeland, any visitor of Romania may get an idea and understand the way we have acted and we mean to act for the general uplifting of the people's standard of living and civilization.

It was as far back as 1968—the year when we also achieved an administrative reorganization of the country—that we considered the necessity of ensuring a balanced development of all counties and zones of the country, assuming that attainment of such an objective was a vital requirement for building socialism and improving the material and spiritual standard of living of the people, for the true equality of rights of all the citizens of the homeland to show. In this 20-year period, large investments were made in all countries, more than 180 new industrial areas were created and older ones were developed. There were achieved big investment projects in agriculture, which ensured a harmonious development of the whole country. We introduced the principle according to which there must be a minimal per capita industrial production in each county so that there should not exist counties with large revenues and counties with small revenues. And we are further pursuing this policy. We have always considered that we must ensure a balanced development of towns and villages, that we must pursue the gradual disappearance of essential differences between town and village.

In many countries there occurred the population movements from village to town. This process is well known, it raised—and still does—many social, human problems in general. To a certain extent, also in our country there was a movement, given that today the urban population accounts for more than 50 per cent. But there are urban centres which developed, appreciably 10-15 times. In Bucharest, the growth is less striking as we have closely watched the population concentration in the capital to prevent it from being too great.

Our conception is to ensure people's stability in their settlements, especially through economic and social measures. That is why we achieved a balanced distribution and development of the counties and, within the counties, of the new urban centres. The present situation in towns is that the problem of housing has been solved in broad lines and it will be fully solved by 1995. We already have towns where there is a surplus of dwellings.

In this period we built a large number of homes in many rural settlements too, notably for specialists, for the workers, and yet many of them, just like many other rural inhabitants still do not have adequate dwellings. We have therefore decided to pay more attention to housing projects in communes, to ensure adequate dwellings to the specialists and workers within a short time and to help the cooperative farmers, the peasants build better homes.

This, of course, will take a longer time. What we want, however, is to fully solve certain social problems within a short delay. We mean, first of all, to ensure a better economic and social development of villages, through a powerful development of agriculture, and also of other activities—notably the small industry, services, as well

as some large-industry activities, as to ensure the population adequate working conditions and incomes. Secondly, we want to settle all health care problems, even though there are particularly difficult situations. What we want is that villagers may get medical assistance on the spot, without having to travel long distances. We want the activity of education to improve. Of course, education is ensured to all children now. But, as we pass to the obligatory 12-year schooling next year, we plan to develop the material base so that all children may go to school in localities that are closest to the communes where they live. We want to develop the cultural-educational activity, again a field in which we have old traditions and good results. We also take action to ensure adequate commercial activities, to develop in all communes the necessary bakeries and other food-making units. Actually, we only have several hundreds of communes without such facilities.

Therefore we are doing everything for the inhabitants of communes to benefit by living conditions as close as possible to those in towns. We start from an old thesis of scientific socialism which says that the situation should be such as the inhabitants of towns and villages may have all they need in broad outline—and in similar conditions—for a life that is dignified in all respects.

We have achieved a lot. We also know that it will still take us long to fulfil these objectives. But it is our duty to act firmly in this direction, and that we shall do.

What a certain Western press wrote attests to an amount of ignorance, if we may say so, but especially to ill-faith and an attempt to find a motive for interfering in Romania's affairs, by telling untruths. I say that this is ill-faith because representatives of the press of different countries visited Romania and reflected such untruths themselves.

The economic and social development of Romania, of all settlements, of the towns, communes and villages is, however, a eloquent proof of the correctness of our communist party's socialist construction policy—under which man, the people's well-being are the essential problem and the fundamental goal of the whole activity.

The Ensurance of Human Rights in Romania and in Other Countries

Romania has started from the fact that its citizens should be given the best conditions of work, life and education, that accord with the development stage of the Romanian socialist society.

It is true that there are newspapers in certain capitalist countries where Romania's refusal—at the Vienna meeting on security and peace—to put its signature on documents containing formulations that are a reminder of the Middle Ages whereby some people would like to rule what should be done in Romania or in other countries is being discussed. This, while the capitalist

countries refused to accept the inclusion in the Vienna documents of certain human rights provisions. I mean the problem of ensuring the right to work to all citizens, especially the youth, of which 30 per cent are jobless in certain countries, also the problem of ensuring equal pay for equal work, as even today women and youth are known given unfair treatment, to say nothing of the population of other nationality or about negroes in the USA who are paid 20-30 per cent less than other citizens; the ensurance of adequate homes to all the citizens of the country; then, the problem of education and many other particularly important problems, regarding the real human rights.

Among other things Romania is blamed for not encouraging emigration, which has in fact become a policy of capitalist countries of recruiting specialists from various countries, especially from developing countries. And this, in spite of the fact that Romania has constantly granted this right, the visas and the necessary facilities to those people who wish to reunite with their families. It is nevertheless true that we do not encourage, that we are against the emigration policy because our view is that citizens of a country should stay where they were born, to work and to strive for the economic and social development of their country. As a matter of fact, emigration itself is a human rights violation because it uproots people from the natural environment in which they were brought up, the places in which they lived, and this is contrary to human rights.

We are firmly resolved to ensure every conditions for a decent life, equal for all citizens, to ensure the participation of all people in the management of society, in forms that are appropriate for a socialist society, for Romania's free and independent future. This is how we understand to really ensure human rights.

The Romanian Conception and Practice in Fully Solving the National Question Romania solved in a democratic way the problem of ensuring fully equal rights to all the homeland's citizens without distinction as to nationality.

Romania is a unitary national state. The formation of the Romanian people started more than 2000 years ago. At a certain time in the course of history, citizens without nationalities—especially of Magyar, German and other descent—settled here.

For the sake of historical truth we must say that there was a time when Transylvania was under the domination of Austria-Hungary when a forced denationalization policy was pursued against the citizens of Romanian descent to give up their nationality. There are many proofs, and Marx himself—who can in no way be suspected to have favoured the Romanians—wrote about that.

We thought and think that the attempt to divide people by nationality always served only the reactionary capitalist circles, those who wished to oppress peoples and to make sure they can rule. Which they are doing also today, as a matter of fact.

Starting precisely from this, in the country's constitution and in practice we have ensured fully equal rights to all citizens. And through the socioeconomic development I have mentioned we provided the material groundwork for all citizens to enjoy these rights. Because one cannot talk about equal rights as long as people are not given good conditions of work, of education, of living.

No one in Romania can say that because of one's descent one has one's possibilities of working in one domain or another limited, or that one's incomes or anything else are so. And nobody can say that conditions to learning in the mother tongue are not ensured for all who so wish. The press and literature in the respective languages are known, as they are public. The number of theatres, the cultural activities in the languages of nationalities are also well known.

All this entitles us to say that we have solved the national question, fully and democratically, and indeed it would be good if in all countries these considerations—that people should enjoy all rights, irrespective of their nationality—were taken as a starting point.

There is virtually no domain in which we failed to ensure full equality. But, I repeat, had we not solved the problems of work, of life, the national question would not have been solved.

Therefore, we are determined to work unflinchingly for the firm implementation of our national policy, to secure all the country's citizens ever better conditions of living, of learning in the society we are building together and in full unity, to achieve the united working people, to build a society of true social and national justice.

Romania's Position on European Disarmament and Security

Over the years, we did not increase, but gradually diminished military expenditures, and three years ago we decided to pass to a 5-per-cent reduction of troops. We made it for economic as well as political reasons. We wished to set an example of the necessity of passing, even unilaterally, to the reduction of military expenditures.

Now, many socialist countries are known to have unilaterally passed to measures of reducing their troops and military expenditures. The Soviet Union too has announced the unilateral reduction of a significant number of troops and weapons. We think that all this is very important for the process of security and cooperation in Europe, for the general development of the policy of peace and collaboration in the world.

Nevertheless, it is known that after the Soviet Union and the USA agreed to reduce medium-range nuclear weapons not only there has been no progress, but, in a way, one can talk of a regress. I say this taking into account the fact that the NATO countries insist on a passage to the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles which, according to their own statements, would mean a four-fold increase of their destructive power. And this would not only practically offset the effects of the reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons, but also create an additional force, enhancing the danger of the world's nuclear destruction. Nuclear-weapon tests go on. The space militarization process continues through the implementation of the U.S. programme, which will inevitably lead the Soviet Union to taking measures accordingly.

That is why we think that everything possible should be done for a passage to the complete liquidation of shorter-range and tactical nuclear weapons, that action should be taken for the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of conventional weapons by 50 per cent, that all states should stop nuclear test, that the militarization of space should be renounced and a passage should be made to agreements on the complete elimination of nuclear arms until the year 2000. We think that this is a problem that concerns not only the Soviet Union and the United States, not only nuclear states, but all the states of the world because the effects of nuclear weapons utilization will be felt by the whole of mankind. Therefore, all countries on all continents are interested in the complete liquidation of nuclear weapons and should take an active part in it in order to ensure the best possible conditions of living on our planet.

We also are for the implementation of the conventional disarmament programme and we take an active part in these negotiations being resolved to do our utmost for appropriate agreements to be achieved before the end of this year. We are for an at least 50 per cent cut in these arms, troops and military expenditures, under adequate international control. At the same time, we think that all states should take action for the passage to a world programme of disarmament, of elimination of chemical weapons, and reduction of conventional arms down to the limit, not for the accumulation of new weapons, of any kind. Of course, every country has the right to possess the weapons it needs for defence. We hope that eventually a world will be built where there are no wars, hence no weapons. We know this is an old wish of mankind, a noble wish, and we would like it to come true as soon as possible.

The Building of a 'United Europe'

Romania is firmly for the establishment of broad relations of collaboration with all the states in the world. We support regional understandings among various countries—as is for instance the Organization of African Unity—which should ensure broader collaboration among states, for their economic and social development.

In achieving such relations, we start from the idea that fully equal rights of states, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, the right of each people to order its life and to live in the social system—where its aspirations for progress and welfare can best be fulfilled are a necessity.

In this spirit, we are for a broad collaboration in Europe. We are for the renunciation of Europe's division into military blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty—which implies their simultaneous dissolution; we are also for the renunciation of the European countries' division into economic organizations, through the development of an active collaboration between the common market and the CMEA, which should gradually lift the existing barriers.

We think that in the achievement of the goal of security in Europe we should start from a united Europe of free and independent nations. We are against the creation of supranational bodies—and we think this thesis is wrong—because this would not ensure a Europe of free and independent peoples but make Europe—in one form or another, sooner or later—a continent of peoples lacking freedom, where the aspirations of each people, of each nation would be gone. We are for a Europe united in the diversity of its social systems where free and independent states are maintained, a Europe united in its socioeconomic, scientific and cultural development, a Europe of peace and equal collaboration with other nations of the world.

The Settlement of the Palestinian People's Problem and a Just and Durable Solution of the Middle East Conflict

Romania has always been for a political settlement of the Middle East issues, for the Palestinian right to self-determination and independent statehood. Romania was one of the first countries which proposed that an international conference be called with the participation of all parties interested, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel included.

We have always upheld the necessity of an independent Palestinian state, and when that state was proclaimed we recognized it, and we have had diplomatic relations and links of broad collaboration with it. Generally speaking we have always broadly collaborated with the PLO for the achievement of its goals of self-determination and statehood. It is also known that we have had diplomatic relations with Israel all along and used these relations to work for and make our contribution to a political settlement in the Middle East.

The situation is different today. The need for an international conference is almost unanimously recognized.

Therefore, it can be said that conditions are in place for the conference to be called in a relatively short time and for the resolution of the Middle East issues in this framework. The sooner this is achieved, the better it will

be for the Middle East situation and for the international political life. Because, it is well known that favourable opportunities that may appear at a certain moment do not last forever, and that world events are so numerous that new obstacles may arise in the resolution of this problem. Therefore, we think that all states should step up their activity for this conference to be convened and the Middle East questions to be solved—the Palestinian question, including that of the independent Palestinian state first of all.

The Current Development Stage and the Prospects of Relations Between Romania and Algeria

I would like to note, with great satisfaction, that in the course of time relations of broad collaboration have developed between Romania and Algeria in various fields. If I were to speak only about the last few years, I could say that the exchanges and economic cooperation between the two countries have somehow increased, although not as much as they could have done.

On many international problems our countries held and hold identical and very close views, which has ensured an active collaboration of the representatives of the two countries in various international bodies.

Taking into account the present state of relations between our countries, the concerns with the socioeconomic development of Romania and Algeria, I think that there is a great potential for a broad expansion of economic exchanges and cooperation in production for the benefit of both countries, and that there is also a potential for the collaboration on an international plane to intensify still more in order to contribute—alongside other peoples—to the settlement of the serious problems of the present-day world in a democratic manner, in the interests of all nations.

Border Guards Pay Homage to Comrade Ceausescu *AU2906204689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian* 27 Jun 89 p 5

["Cable Sent to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu by the Participants in the Festive Meeting Devoted to the Day of the Border Guards of the Socialist Republic of Romania"]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces:

Completely united in thought and feeling with all the sons of our homeland, who are doing their duty at the borders under our glorious tricolor flag, the participants in this festive meeting in Bucharest devoted to the day of the border guards of the Socialist Republic of Romania express heartfelt feelings of profound esteem, great appreciation, and boundless love to you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of

the Romanian people, great hero among the heroes of our nation, outstanding leader of our party and state, founder of modern socialist Romania, prominent figure of today, and fearless fighter for the triumph of the noble ideals of peace and progress on our planet.

At this festive time, our homeland's border guards express their profound gratitude for everything you have done and are doing for the benefit and happiness of our people, and for your great activity at the helm of the party and state in order to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure our country's advance toward communism, to constantly increase its prestige in the world, strengthen its defense capability, and to constantly consolidate Romania's independence and sovereignty.

With warm feelings of respect and profound gratitude, the border guards also pay great homage to Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, eminent politician and statesman, and scientist of broad international recognition, for her revolutionary activity generously devoted to implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state, and for her excellent contribution to the progress of Romanian science, education, art, and culture.

Inspired by your exemplary revolutionary activity and greatly appreciating the theses, ideas, and orientations of exceptional theoretical and practical significance included in the masterly speech you made from the high rostrum of workers revolutionary democracy in November 1988 and in the speech to the RCP Central Committee plenum of April 1989, all border troops report, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that they work with dedication and communist responsibility

to achieve a new and better quality in instruction and training, to strengthen order and discipline, to strictly observe the party decisions, the legal border norms, our country's laws, and our regulations, and to completely implement the provisions of the directive on the military and political training of the Army in the current 5-year plan period.

The officers, military specialists, non-commissioned officers, and border conscripts, mobilized by the party bodies and organizations and in close cooperation with the bodies of the Ministry of Interior, with the fighters of patriotic guards and the other defense units, and in cooperation with the people in the border areas, will spare no efforts to fulfill—with great patriotic responsibility and revolutionary vigilance—the basic mission entrusted to them by the party and people—to guard and defend the state border. They will welcome the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th RCP Congress with very good results in all areas.

On the day of the border guards, allow us to solemnly pledge, much esteemed Comrade Supreme Commander, that the border guards on duty under the flag, in the school of manhood, courage, and political, patriotic, and revolutionary education, will devote all their efforts to increase the combative capability of large units and detachments, so that upon the call of the homeland and the party, and upon your order, they will guard our country, together with all troops and with the people by thwarting any action of whatever aggressor that could could attack our revolutionary achievements, the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of our dear homeland—the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Alia Urges Nation Status for SFRY Albanians
LD2906215189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1827 GMT 29 Jun 89

[By Branko Stosic]

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—Albanians in Yugoslavia must gain the status of a nation since "they rank third in size in that multi-national state," Albanian state and party leader Ramiz Alia has said in his latest attack on Yugoslavia at the 6th congress of the Democratic Front of Albania which opened on Monday.

According to a report carried by the Albanian news agency ATA on Tuesday, Alia and Democratic Front President Nexhmie Hoxha, widow of the late Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, said they would [word indistinct] in defending the legal rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia, although—which is difficult to believe in view of what they had previously said—they "sincerely wish for the best possible relations with Yugoslavia."

Their goal, they said, was not the "destabilization, disintegration or destruction of Yugoslavia," but it was their duty to defend the Albanians, whose leader Alia was "regardless of where they live."

Reiterating that Albania was "the only truly socialist country" in the world, since all others were heading for a "restoration of capitalism," Alia accused Yugoslavia's policy towards national minorities as "contrary to sound logic and the spirit of the times" and as founded in an "old and discredited ideology."

According to Alia, Yugoslavia is "provoking tensions in Balkan politics" and "looking for simply any reason and any pretext for quarrels with neighbours," while Albania allegedly resolves all difficulties and problems in its relations with neighbours through dialogue and cooperation.

Hoxha's widow went even as far as to accuse Yugoslavia of having been applying "violence against Albanians for a longer period" and of "negating the rights won by the Albanians during the national liberation war."

Presenting Albania as an honest and well-meaning country, always prepared for dialogue, the Albanian officials again repeated their well-known accusations against Yugoslavia. Alia even went a step further by demanding the status of a nation for the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia.

Quite contrary to what Alia said, the ethnic Albanians are only the fifth in size in Yugoslavia, after the Serbs, Croats, Moslems and Slovenes. Alia deliberately neglects also the fact that the size of a national minority is not the basic criteria for it to obtain the status of a nation, especially not in the case of those minorities whose mother nations have their own states.

The Albanian leader ventured even to speak about himself as the defender of all Albanians "wherever they may be," therefore also of the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia's Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Making the statement, he violated the elementary rules of international behaviour.

Alia, who does not choose words in his attacks on Yugoslavia, its policy and leadership, forgets that the Albanian leadership is widely known for its suppression of the basic rights of national minorities in Albania.

Minorities in Albania have no links with their mother nations, which is not true of the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia, and the world has no possibility of learning anything about them.

The latest statements of Albanian leaders are the best illustration of the way in which Albania, the most self-isolated country in Europe, resolves its problems in relations with neighbouring Yugoslavia.

Trial of 'Albanian Nationalists' Begins in Skopje
LD2906113589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Skopje, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—The trial of a group of Albanian nationalists from Tetovo has begun in the Skopje District Court. They are charged with entering the social system of our country through counterrevolutionary activity. In the dock are Dzemail Amedia (20), brothers Nedzat and Avduldzevad Ameti (both 19), Izair Ljoki (19), and six juveniles, all from Tetovo, age 17 and 18.

According to the charges the accused acted from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and were involved in hostile activity aimed at disrupting the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities. During the period from October 1988 to April 1989 they also acted with a view to making anti-constitutional changes to the Yugoslav Federal system.

During the first hearing the accused denied the charges. However, when confronted with the evidence they admitted that they had had the intention of taking part in demonstrations, but they said their motives had not been of a hostile nature.

The trial continues.

Spokesman on 'Terrorist' Attack in Frankfurt
LD2906195989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1650 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 29 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today decided to lodge a demarche with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany in connection with yesterday's attack by a terrorist group of Albanian separatists and chauvinists on the club of Yugoslav ethnic Albanians "Jeta e Re" in Frankfurt.

In the incident, three Albanian separatists physically attacked Yugoslav Consul-General Franc Pristovsek and two Yugoslav officials, one of the Republic of Serbia and one of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Similar incidents occurred last week in Yugoslav clubs in Aachen and Dortmund. The latest attack shows that Albanian chauvinists continue their campaign of intimidating pro-Yugoslav ethnic Albanians from Yugoslavia who are temporarily employed in the Federal Republic.

The aim of the Albanian separatists in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo and the Albanian emigration in the world is the secession of Kosovo and its annexation to neighbouring Albania.

The statement released by the Yugoslav Secretariat for Information says that the latest attack is not in line with the existing friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic or the host-country's obligation to ensure a normal life for foreign citizens temporarily employed in it.

The incident also runs counter to the commitments of the world community and the Governments of Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany to combat terrorism, as the statement sets out.

The Yugoslav ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr Milan Dragovic, has been instructed to lodge a demarche with the government in Bonn, as Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Ivo Vajgl stated today.

He said that the latest attack, just as the one in Aachen, was a warning of "the tolerant attitude of the authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany towards the activities of the anti-Yugoslav organizations which have all the features of terrorist groups."

"The latest incident is all the more serious since we, based on certain past experiences, have warned the authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany of the potential danger of the terrorists who endanger the security and peace of our countrymen associated in clubs, and also the security and integrity of their sympathizers and of Yugoslavia's diplomatic-consular representatives," spokesman Vajgl set out. He recalled that "the suppression of the activities of anti-Yugoslav groups is a concrete form of the battle against international terrorism which the SFR [Socialist Federal Republic] of Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany energetically call for."

CSSR's Lenart Visits, Talks With Leaders

Meets Stojanovic, Husak

LD2906164389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Today Dusan Ckrebic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee has talks with Jozef

Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

In the course of cordial and friendly talks, Dr Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Jan Husak, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia to the SFRY, highly assessed overall Yugoslav-Czechoslovak relations, as well as the cooperation between the LCY and CPCZ.

Both sides expressed readiness to improve relations further, and in that context they stressed the importance of a regular dialogue between the two parties at all levels to exchange views and experiences in resolving current problems the two countries face.

Dusan Ckrebic briefed the guest about the current economic and political situation in Yugoslavia, LCY activities, preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, the main contents of political debates taking place within the framework of the preparations, a concept of the economic and social reform, and the League of Communists transformation.

Ckrebic stressed that the key issues that need to be resolved are how to ensure a stable and efficient economic development with more comprehensive democratization of society, and correspondingly, how to respond to various ideological and political dilemmas regarding political pluralism and ways of its implementation, the new LCY role, and so on.

Talking about internal development in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Jozef Lenart stressed that various tendencies are present in Czechoslovak society. One is inert, self-satisfied, and basically conservative; the second one confides itself to criticisms and whose point of departure is, in the final analysis, anti-socialism and anti-communism; the third one is creative, and through a critical attitude toward reality, seeks a way out of the situation and draws up original solutions.

The CPCZ wants to strengthen this approach, and with its policies it is exerting influence so this approach is broadly accepted, which will secure development of democratic socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Lenart also talked about reforms in the economic system and development of a concept of economy. He presented the basic directions of preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, which will be held next May.

CTK Reports Ckrebic-Lenart Talks

LD2906180289 Prague CTK in English
1642 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade June 29 (CTK correspondent)—Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart, who

arrived here Wednesday for a working visit to Yugoslavia, met today with Presidium member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Dusan Ckrebic.

They discussed topical tasks of the two parties in the process of restructuring of the economic mechanism and democratization in the two countries. They exchanged information on the preparations for congresses of the two parties, pointing to the necessity to further deepen cooperation between the two parties and states.

The two officials stressed the significance of further extension of Czechoslovakia's and Yugoslavia's participation in the international division of labour. They stated that their mutual economic cooperation is good and further possibilities of its dynamic development exist.

Spokesman Vajgl Holds Weekly News Conference

Views Turkish-Bulgarian Relations

LD2906221689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1328 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—Spokesman of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Ivo Vajgl has described the "mass exodus of members of the Turkish nationality from Bulgaria" as "drastic and disturbing," and as a "strong warning of the importance of settling the problem of national minorities."

Vajgl told his weekly press conference here on Thursday that "Yugoslavia has always thought and still thinks—and thus also acts in relation to members of the other peoples on its territory—that only recognition of the national minorities' right to their own identity and development, to the maintenance of their own being, constitutes a democratic, civilizational and cultural achievement which enables equality of people in a given country."

This problem "should be dealt with primarily in bilateral relations of Bulgaria and Turkey, but its scope and seriousness have apparently also attracted interest in other countries," the Yugoslav spokesman added.

'Regrets' PRC Repressions

LD2906213589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1817 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—"Yugoslavia is very concerned over the dramatic repressive acts against young participants of the demonstrations in China, which run counter to the generally accepted norms of observing human rights and illustrate a logic of the state's right to reprisal over the individual," Yugoslav foreign secretariat spokesman Ivo Vajgl said at a news conference today.

He recalled a TV regular news conference in Belgrade that Yugoslavia had already expressed deep regret for the bloodshed in Beijing, and now also expresses regret that the number of victims of the repressions in China is increasing each day.

"We should like for the People's Republic of China, observing the norms of human rights, to continue to further contribute to its own reputation which would be damaged by any other type of behaviour," Vajgl said.

According to Vajgl, Yugoslavia is concerned that the recent events in China are obviously not contributing to this, because "the modernization of the People's Republic of China, on the basis of democratic reforms and its opening, was and will remain important for the stability of relations in the world and its overall prosperity.

A commission for international cooperation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) also assessed that the state and party leadership of China reacted to the demonstrators' demands with disproportionate measures of brutal repression.

Adopting a report by a member of the party Presidency Ivan Bragic on a recent visit of the Communist Party of China, the commission concluded that the process of economic reforms in the country is ahead of the political one, and that many old social contradictions remain unresolved and new ones remain open. For this reason, as stated, the demands of different layers of society have grown in China together with the quick democratization.

The commission concluded that the further development of Yugoslav-Chinese relations should be based on the consistent implementation of principles of equal cooperation in all areas, as it has been the case so far.

LCY Commission Debates Latest Events in China

AU2906144489 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] The Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia for International Cooperation has discussed the latest events in China. Deeming them a dramatic expression of contradictions in development and particularly in the reforms, the participants in the debate highlighted the unacceptability of using force in clashes with citizens. The use of force and the resulting casualties caused astonishment and disapproval in our public.

The comprehensive debate stressed the Chinese reform achievements which are important for the socialist experience. However, the denouement and showdown with the student and wider movement will have negative consequences and influence on the reforming processes in socialism and on socialism in general.

BORBA Views Changes in Hungary's Politburo
AU3006074589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
27 Jun 89 p 9

[Nenad Briski article: "Stalinism Is Dead, Long Live Socialism"]

[Text] Karoly Grosz became the Hungarian premier 2 years ago and took over the office of the general secretary at the party conference in May last year after Janos Kadar's (forced) withdrawal to the invented post of party chairman.

At the end of last year, he handed the government over to Miklos Nemeth, an energetic and obviously reform-minded 40-year old. Kadar was pensioned off in May this year. Several weeks before this, the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] underwent a reorganization to which ideology head Janos Berecz who was considered a supporter of the "dogmatic current" fell victim and which strengthened the position of the clear reformers. After this reconstruction of the Politburo, Grosz said that an "offensive team" capable of reorganizing the party was now at its head.

During these 2 years since Grosz came to the head of the government and 1 year since he came to the head of the party, Hungary has undergone unprecedented changes, persistently and consistently moving from (a milder form of) a Stalinist one-party state to real pluralist democracy: courageous economic reforms, the legalization of the opposition, and work on the new constitution and the election law that will make possible elections in which several parties will take part. One really could not have done more in such a short time and yet preserve social peace and a minimum of consensus.

Grosz "on Ice"

However, immediately after of the Politburo was reorganized in April this year, views were voiced that one should not hold national party conference in the fall (because the conference has a limited competence), but a party congress that will elect the head of the party "in a democratic way." Shortly afterwards, there were hints from several sides that Grosz should "leave."

The decision was made at the end of the last week to carry out a new reorganization of the Politburo. As a part of it the office of chairman of the party (which in this case will by no means be only honorary) is occupied by Rezso Nyers. Members elected into the new party Presidium, apart from Grosz, are the main "trumps" of the reformers: Premier Miklos Nemeth, minister of state Imre Pozsgay, and Nyers. This means strengthening the reformist wing in the party further and putting Grosz "on ice" without replacing him, because doing so could deepen divisions in the party. We said that he was put "on ice" because in the future the general secretary is obviously expected to conduct everyday party business and to have much less to do with strategy.

Although Grosz could be considered the driving force of the extremely important changes made so far on Hungarian society's road to democracy, his problem lies in the fact that he has always been under suspicion of not favoring the reforms "with all his heart." While he was still keeping pace with events in economic sphere, events in the political sphere have obviously overtaken him. The changes that have altered the political map of Hungary so radically happened somehow against Grosz's will because he had always advocated a more careful approach. True, Grosz also spoke of the possibility of a multiparty system, but his interpretation remained theoretical, while, according to radical reformers, Hungary will already become a multiparty society tomorrow, i.e. after the new constitution is adopted (this fall) and the election law, and after the parliamentary elections in 1990. He is also reproached for allegedly having considered introducing a "state of emergency" in the country recently.

According to many people, the first thorough reconstruction of the Politburo in May last year represents an "uprising" of the party grassroots led by reformers against the party apparatus, although some of the representatives of the apparatus—those aware of the importance of and the need for changes—have remained in the highest leadership. Berecz's departure in April this year meant the departure of, so to speak, the rightist wing of the apparatus, and pushing Grosz aside means weakening the positions of the center. One could do without the rightist wing; anyhow, it will organize itself and will continue advocating its ideas (otherwise, what is the point of pluralism). However, it remains to be seen whether things can be done when the center is weak, considering the resistance in the country and the "concern" on the part of some allies.

Complete Change of Model

As we have said, the MSZMP leadership is now in the hands of the most prominent reformers. The new party chairman Rezso Nyers was born in 1923 and is a type-setter by profession. He was a social democrat (in 1948, this party was attached to the Communists and thus the MSZMP was created), during the fifties he occupied the post of minister of food and at the beginning of the sixties he was finance minister. He is the father of the Hungarian reform of 1968, but as the star of the reform started to darken so his political career started going downhill. In 1975 he was expelled from the Politburo and until his return to the top party leadership a little more than 1 year ago, he was at the head of the Economic Sciences Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

He is a great champion of market economy, democratic decisionmaking, and openness. Being a person of obvious integrity, he enjoys the liking and support both of the party and of the opposition. In an interview he gave last week, Nyers said that he would not accept the office of chairman if it were only a symbolic post.

If it is impossible to say who is doing what for the reform, it is certain that Imre Pozsgay advocates it most and does so in the most passionate way. In a recent interview for Hamburg DIE ZEIT, Pozsgay again spoke in favor of a "complete change of model in Hungary" because "socialism in that state to which Stalin brought it is impossible to reform." He confirmed that Hungary needs a multiparty system and that the MSZMP should be "reorganized and changed in such a way that it becomes capable of winning the majority of votes (in elections)."

When conducting changes in society, Pozsgay says, one should be careful about two things: There must be no threat of civil war in the country and there must be no initiatives that would "ruin the European balance and the (two) alliances."

In reply to the last question—about whether one can cry "socialism is dead, long live socialism"—Pozsgay said: "With a small change—Stalinism is dead, long live socialism."

Assembly Groups Discuss Foreign Policy Issues
LD2906170189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Today a joint session of the Federal Chamber Committee for Foreign Affairs and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries discussed the Council of Europe's proposal to grant to Yugoslavia the status of a special guest. Aleksandar Simovic, president of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, proposed that the SFRY Assembly approves Yugoslavia's status of a special guest at the Council of Europe, since it is European and Mediterranean country. The session also considered the activities of the Yugoslav diplomatic service.

"Delegates did not agree with several assessments, among which was the one stating that relations with the United States 'have improved considerably'. Such an assessment, the committee for Foreign Affairs president stated, can be accepted only in relation to the government and the State Department, but not in relation to the Congress and some other aspects of these relations.

The delegates also asked that the work of the (SFRY) ambassadors is watched more thoroughly and that regular assessments of their work are made. Some criticized cadre composition, which contains, as was heard, elements of 'professional and political succession'."

Party Congress Urged Not To 'Abandon Socialism'
LD3006032889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2005 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—The commission charged with preparing the 14th Special Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in December must overcome intra-party differences and propose clear stands on the future of Yugoslav socialism and development of democracy, it was set out at the LCY Presidency session today.

The congress must reject trends which abandon socialism, member of the top party leadership Stanko Radmilovic said. Radmilovic, who heads the group charged with preparing the congress document on the economic reform, maintains that the Yugoslav reforms mean a change within the concept of socialism but not the abandoning of socialist self-management.

The Yugoslav party will propose to the congress stands on human rights and freedoms in Yugoslavia.

The party Presidency today scheduled for mid-July and August 1st two Central Committee summer sessions, which will focus on preparations for the 14th Special LCY Congress and inter-nationality relations in Yugoslavia.

Markovic Addresses Trade Union Council Presidium
LD3006085989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1654 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—The program of economic policy measures for this year and the partial changes to some systemic laws do not sufficiently take into consideration the essence of the financial and social position of workers. Simply, the consequences of the first restrictive blows on the social and financial position of workers are not being examined, stressed Andjelko Vasic, president of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation (SSJ) at today's meeting between the members of the presidium of the SSJ council and Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic. Apart from Markovic, the talks were attended by Federal Secretaries for Development, Dr Boza Marendic and Health, Labor and Social Policy, Radisa Gacic; as well as by Zoran Miskovic, general secretary of the FEC. The center of attention of the meeting at the SSJ council was the program of economic policy measures for this year, especially in social policy.

Presenting the stands of the SSJ Council Presidium, Andjelko Vasic noted that the restrictions in the sphere of the credit-monetary policy are extremely strict and he called for a special program for this policy which would ensure its fulfillment with the minimum economic and social disturbances. [passage omitted]

The FEC's whole program is anti-inflationary and it is particularly detailed in the area of credit and monetary policy—which must be restrictive. The proposed economic system will either survive or fall over the new solutions in credit and monetary policy. Any other approach does not stand a chance of curbing inflation, let alone of eliminating it, Ante Markovic said as he added that the FEC is ready to face the ultimate consequences if its proposals are not accepted.

The FEC has committed itself to curbing all the roots of inflation, which is expected to fall next year, since this is not feasible by freezing. Without uprooting all the

causes, inflation would be only stopped for a while as it would continue to rise within the processes, Markovic added, noting that the freezes so far have yielded no results. [passage omitted]

The FEC President recalled on this occasion that the government is against freezing personal incomes, though demands for this were voiced. The FEC is also not against the settling of wages on a daily, weekly, or half-monthly basis if enterprises are capable of calculating the effects. However, experience shows that monthly estimates frequently do not function properly.

On several occasions the question of social policy was raised, and Markovic confirmed that it has not been by-passed but that the federation has no authorization in this field. It will aid social program through tax policy, i.e. through the money accumulated in this way.

Advocating pluralism and competition of ownership the FEC proposed a system without the state protection of any aspect of ownership. So far its task is to preserve the value of social ownership, but just how far we are in this is illustrated by Agrokomerc. The accountancy value of property was preserved at that combine, but production, technology, and cadres were destroyed. In a market system this would be different, but someone, as was the case with Feni, bought up the combine in Velika Kladusa, Markovic noted.

The problem of so-called bills of exchange, which will be abolished at the end of September, was raised. Because they fall due in 3 months they will be circulated by the end of this year, after which they will be replaced by bankers' bills of exchange and orders of acceptance. The purchase by cheques has turned into illegal crediting, encouraged by banks, while the population is paying the price, Markovic considers. [passage omitted]

Zivko Pregl noted that associated labor warned that delays in passing the law on working relations are already a bottleneck for the application of other systemic regulations, and Ante Markovic said that a market system could not be constituted without this law.

Markovic Addresses Trade Union Objections
LD3006021389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2120 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Yugoslav trade unions and the federal government failed to reconcile views on certain measures of the 1989 economic policy at their meeting in Belgrade today.

After a discussion, which became heated at moments, Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic, with the help of several government members, refused to withdraw from procedure a draft law under which employees would be paid their wages once a month in the Federal Assembly tomorrow. Markovic insisted that this draft law was one

of the anti-inflation measures and recalled that the experts had warned that the weekly payment of wages would quadruple the monthly inflation.

In late May, the monthly growth rate of inflation stood at around 20 percent, while the annual inflation rate reached 600 percent. President of the Yugoslav trade unions Andjelko Vasic assessed that inflation was becoming a great obstacle to the economic reforms in Yugoslavia.

Markovic said the government would combine systemic, macro-economic and current economic policy measures, within its overall anti-inflation program, for the economic recovery and development.

The systemic part has nearly been completed with a number of regulations which are to be adopted by the end of the year. As of the beginning of next year, a completely new economic system would be in operation.

Markovic said that the current economic policy measures have already yielded positive results, especially as regards an increase in production, foreign currency savings and foreign currency reserves.

Commenting on a remark that restrictions concerning the credit and financial policy were particularly harsh and that they should be followed by a program which would alleviate the economic negative consequences and social disturbances, Markovic said that the federal government had no authorization in that field. However, the government will use the taxation policy, i.e. the funds from taxes, to subsidize the social programmes, he said.

Rupel Addresses Democratic Alliance Congress
AU3006080589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
26 Jun 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "We Will Be Tolerant, But Resolute Toward the Opponents of Democracy"]

[Text] Maribor, 25 Jun—Dimitrij Rupel, President of the Executive Committee of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, spoke at the congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance about the work of the alliance since its foundation until the present day. He said among other things:

Let me say something about the situation in the modern market of political ideas, and especially about the situation in the so-called alternative. In our Program Declaration in January we welcomed the new strivings in the leaderships of the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the strivings for "demonopolization" of these organizations. If we look back a few years, the achievements of the "new Slovene policy" seem downright surprising. However, as I have said, no proper summer can yet be noticed. Our position will be precisely evident only after the elections, if they are free. There is no doubt that in these elections, if they are free,

the Slovene Democratic Alliance will obtain an appropriate share of votes and thus get established in the Slovene Parliament. We might achieve an even better result in a coalition with other alternative alliances, for instance the Peasant Alliance, the Social Democratic Alliance, the Christian Alliance (if it decides to take this step)... and we are also prepared for cooperation with the Greens, the student alliance, and finally with the Youth Federation. It would make sense to me if these organizations—and perhaps others in addition—were to join in some kind of "joint opposition." This of course is mere hypothesis, which the winter and other storms may easily overturn.

Our official politics has lately displayed itself chiefly in its attitude to Yugoslavia and Serbia. In its attitude it gives the impression of a lack of decisiveness and independence. Here we have the well-known theses about misunderstandings and lack of understanding; here we have various invitations to talks, nice assurances that we love the Serbs, the Army, Yugoslavia, and so forth. The President of the League of Communists of Slovenia seems to have been the first to admit (last week at Tacen) that it is not a matter of misunderstandings but of differences, and thus the opportunities for a turn in the Slovene policy from the model of tactical adjustments to the model of strategic negotiations and implementation of national interests, regardless of the magic formulas of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], brotherhood and unity, proletarian solidarity, and so forth, seem to be presented in principle. I say that opportunities are presented in principle: we cannot expect an actual turn so soon yet. Kucan himself has stressed on several occasions that Yugoslavia and socialism are near to his heart, and from this angle he criticized the May Declaration and other statements and directions. In this way he himself has barred his own way to a radical rethinking of our life or his way to actual negotiations about a life together on the basis of one's respect for national interests.

Dear friends, there are few grown-up and free people in Slovenia. They are increasing, but they are few. As The Slovene Public Opinion 1989 says, the Slovenes are of the opinion that the party has little prestige and little significance, but the majority supports the Slovene leadership. We can explain this paradox only as a product of the process of influencing public opinion over several months, if not years; this consists of presenting our leadership as a captive of a dark conspiracy outside this leadership. The latest confirmation that these assumptions are erroneous is the following: this leadership had an opportunity to show its upright stance—which it cherishes so much and which it talks so much about—in the case of the four who were convicted at the Ljubljana military trial. It had an opportunity to let the four go free or to release them. Instead, it continues to send out appeals for a pardon, which are not met for a single reason: because they are appeals for a pardon! Slovene politicians can issue orders and demands only to Slovenes; against others they are too meek! To make the

story even more ridiculous, the head of the state is a Slovene who won in a (somewhat problematic) election only because the Slovenes considered him an advocate of human rights and democracy. And this head of state behaves as... well, he does not behave like a head of state.

Allow me nevertheless to speak about our national question in a different way from what we are used to, and I draw your attention to the wording of our program, which constitutes the framework for my speech here. Berger and Luckmann have written: "Societies of course have histories within which prominent personalities arise, but these histories are created by people with prominent personalities."

As it is self-evident that Slovenes differ from the Serbs, the present tense situation has arisen for some other reason, and not just because the Slovenes and the Serbs are different. I think that it involves some political actions that deny these differences. It is because some groups have decided that it would be opportune to deny the difference of the Slovenes that some sort of ideology—Berger and Luckmann would say psychology—of the Slovene identity, the Serbian identity, the Kosovo identity, and so forth has arisen.

The crisis of the Serbian identity has been caused by the Yugoslavization of Serbia, the undetermined borders of the Serbian people, and so forth. It is therefore simply absurd that the Serbs now speak about Yugoslavism as a solution; it is precisely Yugoslavism that has got them into trouble.

The Slovene identity crisis has been dormant for many years, buried under violence, fear, the party, the workers class, and so forth. These things have now melted away, also thanks to the Serbs and the Army. What is the problem now?

We must be proud to be Slovenes. Let us not indulge in faintheartedness and fear, which paralyze our work. Let us not indulge in complacency and provincialism! Our time simply invites us to work and engage in politics: we are exactly big enough and flexible enough for a world of big changes. Let us set up two essential institutions:

1. a European commission, and
2. a Slovene world congress!

Let us strive to establish an independent daily, not just a weekly! In our attitude to the opponents of democracy, whether those in Serbia or in Maribor, let us be tolerant, but resolute.

Let us not copy those who celebrate their 600-year-old defeats as victories! Let us not blind ourselves with victories, let us not nurse defeats! We have had too many "victories" which turned out to be defeats. We have had too many celebrations and delusions: the time has come

for sober thought and serious talks; the time for hard and unyielding negotiations; the time for careful preparations and effective operations.

'Final Version' of Slovene Declaration Drafted

AU2906110789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
23 Jun 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Basic Charter of Slovenia of 1989"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Jun—An authorized group of the coordination group of the organizers of the Cankar Hall meeting has drafted the final version of the basic charter of Slovenia of 1989, which will be adopted by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia on 27 June, and people will be invited to sign it.

The citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, signatories of this charter, state and declare:

1. We want to live in a democratic Slovene state, founded on the sovereignty of the Slovene people and human rights and civil freedoms. In this state we ensure: the rule of labor, and of the law, and independence of civil society; free association and political pluralism; democratic elections; equality of the minorities; freedom of all forms of economic development; protection of the environment; links with Europe and the world.

2. We will live only in a Yugoslavia that will assure the sovereignty and the permanent and inalienable right to self-determination of the peoples, equality of all the nationalities and the minorities, that will respect and protect the differences of all, and in which we will regulate our common affairs in the federal state on the principle of unanimity.

3. We do not want to live in a state community in which we would be subjected to political or national hegemony, the economic exploitation, or other forms of imposed forms of political, economic, and cultural life.

With our signatures, the proposers and the signatories of this charter promise to persist on its principles. We impose the obligation on all in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia who have been given legal power, to implement this common people's will in the constitutional reforms and in all the political activities in Slovenia.

Appeal to the Assembly and the Presidency of Slovenia

We, the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, appeal to the highest state organs in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to use their legal and legitimate power to end the serving of their sentences by the four convicts, because of the irregularities in the proceedings against the four that have been established. We demand that they be retried at a just and public trial.

Milk Producers Continue Boycott of Wholesalers

LD2906105689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0806 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Milk producers throughout Slovenia today continued their boycott of wholesale buyers. According to initial reports about 90 percent of milk producers have responded to a call by the Slovene Peasant Union to use the boycott to draw attention to the exceptionally serious situation in milk production industry. The milk producers are demanding an economic price for milk since the present price does not even cover production. [passage omitted]

Throughout Slovenia milk is being given away free today and special deliveries have been organized to supply kindergartens and hospitals with fresh milk.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Elects Presidium President

LD2906121789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0941 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—At its session today, held during an interval in a session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee, the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium elected Dr Nijaz Durakovic its new president. In a secret ballot Dr Durakovic received 12 votes with the second candidate, Dzevad Tasic, gaining 1 vote. In the preliminary procedure both candidates received the necessary support from municipal and town LC committees and from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium.

Dr Nijaz Durakovic is a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium. He was born in 1949 and is the author of a number of articles and four books on interethnic relations.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Conference Elects Youth Head

LD2906223389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Summary] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Rasim Kadic, 29, was elected president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Socialist Youth Federation's Republic Conference at today's session of the conference.

Serbian LC Commission on Political Pluralism

AU2906175389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
28 Jun 89 p 19

[Unattributed report: "For Democracy Which Will Open Space to Political Pluralism on Socialist Foundations"]

[Text] The League of Communists [LC] of Serbia favors socialist democracy which will facilitate the affirmation of political pluralism on socialist foundations. This was stated at a session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Commission for the Political System. The LC as a political organization will fight for this kind of political

pluralism within the Socialist Alliance and through a democratic dialogue of socialist ideas and programs, jointly with other political and social organizations, citizens' associations, movements, and other spontaneous initiatives of the working people and citizens. The discussion on pluralism must take into consideration the very complicated social conditions characterized by the increasingly acute crisis. These issues cannot be tackled partially or only from the political point of view, but as a whole, proceeding from the worker-class interest.

The pluralism of interests is our reality, Professor Balsa Spadier, president of the commission, said. However, there can be no self-managing political pluralism without radical changes in the political system and without a new SFRY constitution. If the solutions for political pluralism are only seen and sought within the framework of the existing system, which is based on the consensus economy and the consensus federation, the political pluralism will inevitably transform itself in a multiparty system.

Political pluralism cannot be reduced to the dilemma whether to have a single party or a multiparty system, or to pluralism within the republican and national borders. As a concept, pluralism is much broader, and therefore narrowing it down will significantly degrade its democratic value.

The participants in the discussion pointed out that the LC must endure in its endeavor for social reforms that would strengthen socialism, unity, and the federal character of Yugoslavia. They also stressed that at the 14th extraordinary congress of the LC of Yugoslavia it will be necessary to adopt an ideopolitical platform of the LC of Yugoslavia concerning changes in the political system and a new SFRY Constitution. Defining the content and forms of political pluralism on socialist foundations should represent an integral part of this platform, the statement issued by the commission states.

Trepca Miners Strike Over Nonpayment of Incomes
AU2906164989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
27 Jun 89 p 14

[M. Antic report: "Pay—A Lit Fuse"]

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 26 Jun—In the last 2 days the eyes of the Kosovo public have again been turned to Stari Trg and the Trepca mine. The reason for this was that on Saturday (to Sunday) [24-25 June] almost the entire third shift went on strike and spent the night in the workers' canteen rather than in the mineshaft. Even yesterday's second shift went down into the mine 3 hours late. The situation today is not the most favorable. If the miners are not paid their May incomes by tomorrow, as the miners have demanded and as the management of this combine has promised them under threat, it could happen that production in the biggest Trepca mine could come to a halt again.

According to what has been announced, the workers in the third shift have made their descent into the pit conditional on payment of personal incomes for May and the annual vacation bonus. After being warned that they were subject to compulsory work orders, 125 workers went down into the pit and 115 categorically refused to do the same. We have found out that criminal measures have been taken against those who have violated the compulsory work orders.

The Titova Mitrovica Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection reacted quickly on this occasion and concluded among other things: "The reason for the work stoppage has been cited as the non-payment of personal incomes for May, but according to what we have found out, the background to all this is of a political nature and was probably organized by certain hostile elements which are endeavoring to use the difficult financial situation in order to again destabilize the situation in the province. They want to achieve this through provocation, excesses, and other hostile activity."

There is no reason whatsoever not to believe the assessment of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, because it was known even earlier that the enemy has not refrained from provoking dissatisfaction and strikes in Trepca for their own political-separatist aims.

However, it is strange that even after the general strike, miners and other Trepca employees have been paid their personal incomes at least 1 month late. Thus, in this delicate political security situation where work and ideopolitical differentiation have not been completely carried through, the door is wide open for hostile political activity among workers. The Trepca leadership knew this, the Titova Mitrovica political leadership knew this, too, but no practical measures were taken to prevent it. Today everyone was running around Pristina looking for money without asking how much the interest rate on lending is. A strike needed to happen for everyone to become aware of the truth "that the non-payment of personal incomes will be exploited for hostile activity."

Writer Comments on Ethnic Conflict in Kosovo
AU2906122489 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
26 Jun 89 pp 159, 161

[Unattributed interview with Albanian writer Ibrahim Rugova, professor of literature at Pristina University and chairman of the Writers' Association of Kosovo: "The Serbs Are Returning as Avengers"]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: This week the Serbs commemorate with great pomp the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, in which the medieval Serbian Empire was defeated by the storming Turks. More than one million Serb patriots are expected to attend the ceremonies. Do the Albanians regard these celebrations as a provocation?

Rugova: Of course it is a provocation. It is a purely Serbian, chauvinist celebration. I would accept the festivities if they were a cultural tribute to this battle that is important for all of Yugoslavia.

DER SPIEGEL: Yet, after all, it was the Serbian people that fought this battle against the Turks.

Rugova: There is enough historical evidence that Hungarians, Croats, Bosnians, and of course Albanians were involved in that battle.

DER SPIEGEL: The Albanians were certainly on the Turkish side...

Rugova: No, on the side of the Serbian Prince Lazar. After all, in 1389 the Kosovo Albanians were still Christians and were also fighting against Islam. We adopted the Muslim faith only under Turkish rule. The chauvinist myth about the Battle of Kosovo emerged in the 19th century, after the founding of the Serbian state.

DER SPIEGEL: Are you afraid that this might now cause new, bloody conflicts between Serbs and Albanians.

Rugova: Just imagine a million worked-up Serbs staying in hotels, guest houses, and even private accommodation all over Kosovo. There will be a lot of drinking and boasting. A single wrong word might have the effect of a spark in a powder keg.

DER SPIEGEL: Albanians have already fired on Serbs. Are you preparing for civil war?

Rugova: The people no longer see any other way out. It is always the same with protests: If there is no response, one has to shout louder.

DER SPIEGEL: Who should respond to these protests? The Yugoslav State Presidency, the Serbian Government?

Rugova: I have the impression that there are forces in Yugoslavia that are virtually longing for acts of terrorism in Kosovo. If shots are fired here, then it serves as a justification for stepping up repression. If the Albanians' resistance against Serbian hegemony can be denounced abroad as terrorism, then one can expect that international sympathy for our cause will quickly subside. You can well imagine who is indulging in such speculation.

DER SPIEGEL: Maybe the Serbs and their leader Milosevic hope that they can benefit from a culmination of the conflict. However, the State Presidency and the central government in Belgrade can hardly be interested in a civil war.

Rugova: Maybe, but then it would be high time to intervene and stop Serbian despotism. Even the intended rehabilitation of the notorious Minister of the Interior, Rankovic (Footnote) (Aleksandar Rankovic, died 1983, was SFRY interior minister, and between

1946 and 1953 enforced Serbian interests in Kosovo) is part of a repressive strategy. This measure is designed to justify the bloody suppression that existed in Kosovo in the past.

DER SPIEGEL: Recently a European Parliament delegation visited Kosovo to explore the situation. The delegates also conducted talks with you. This is why the Serbian press accused the deputies of having sought contact only with people who are hostile to the Serbs.

Rugova: Quite the contrary is true. The delegation was prohibited any contact with people in the streets. This is why it ended its visit prematurely. The deputies of the European Parliament were able to hear only official statements: Good things about the Serbs, bad things about the Albanians.

DER SPIEGEL: In the spring the Serbs enforced a change in the Constitution, which concedes them more rights in Kosovo. You and your friends had called for a referendum on this issue. What do you think would have been the result in such a referendum?

Rugova: Not more than 10 or 15 percent of the voters would have supported the change. The people are on the other side.

DER SPIEGEL: What has happened to the 10 Albanian parliamentary deputies who voted against restricting the autonomous status of Kosovo?

Rugova: The parliamentary president, who is of course a Serb, moved to relieve the renegates of their positions. They are likely to lose their seats before long.

DER SPIEGEL: What has changed in Kosovo since the new Constitution came into force?

Rugova: Under the Constitution, the Serb central power is in charge of the following five areas: police, economic planning, the judicial sector, territorial defense, and international relations. Yet, all other areas are also dominated by the Serbs under the motto "unity of the republic."

DER SPIEGEL: What is the effect of this?

Rugova: The number of Albanian-speaking classes in secondary education is being drastically reduced. This year alone, some 11,000 Albanian pupils will have no choice but to graduate from school after primary education, in line with the motto: Dumb Albanians are less dangerous.

DER SPIEGEL: According to press reports from Croatia, more than 200 Kosovo Albanians have been "isolated" by the Serbs. What exactly does this mean?

Rugova: It means that for 3 months they have been detained without trial, without the right to defense, and without the right to receive visits by their families. At least 245 Albanians have been detained in solitary confinement. The majority of them are intellectuals, but factory directors and skilled workers are also affected. Some of them have been very cruelly treated in prison. The Serbs' objective is to eliminate possible leaders of the Albanian resistance. When Rankovic fell from Tito's grace in 1966 and the Serbian governors were warned not to go too far, they threatened that one day they would return as avengers. This is what has happened now.

DER SPIEGEL: Serbian newspapers claim that Kosovo is striving for more autonomy only because it wants to join the People's Republic of Albania.

Rugova: This is an old propagandist fairy tale. The majority of Kosovo Albanians have fully accepted integration into the Yugoslav federation. However, if the suppression continues, the people will look for a way out.

DER SPIEGEL: Which way will the people turn?

Rugova: They will either turn to Albania or to somewhere else. During the era of Rankovic, hundreds of thousands of Albanians fled to Turkey. Some 250,000 Albanians have left their homes since 1981 and now live in the West as migrant workers or in other republics of Yugoslavia.

DER SPIEGEL: A total of 40,000 Serbs also left Kosovo during this period, because they were allegedly driven out by the Albanians.

Rugova: This is a lie. Of course there have been conflicts among neighbors, but there is conflict among Albanians as well. What it really boils down to is that Serbs cannot get over the fact that Albanians also hold leading positions. They want to stop the course of time. After 1966 we Albanians were given the opportunity of school and university education, and today 90 percent of the population are able to read and write—and call for equal rights.

DER SPIEGEL: Is there still a chance of a peaceful solution, considering the antagonism between Serbs and Albanians?

Rugova: If Serbia continues to try to suppress our national identity, then there will be an uprising. I can only warn the Serbs: Even they are a small people. In the past, whenever a small people tried to act as the dominating power in the Balkans, the situation ended with the tragedy of this people.

Croat Democratic Community Founded in Secret
AU2906110989 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
19 Jun 89 p 2

[Peter Potocnik report: "Croatian Democratic Community Founded Behind Closed Door"]

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Jun—Because on Thursday [15 June], the Zagreb City Secretariat for Internal Affairs banned a public convening of the founding assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica), which was to be held in the Zagreb Hotel Panorama yesterday. The preparatory committee met behind closed doors and proclaimed its meeting as the founding assembly. Professor Franjo Tudjman, historian, retired general, was elected president of the Croatian Democratic Community.

The ban by the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs says that "the public has reacted unfavorably to the preparations for the founding of the Croatian Democratic Community," as well as "that a mass participation of citizens has been announced, and this may challenge public peace and order." It is true that official Croatian politics attacked the Croatian Democratic Community from the very beginning, from the public forum in the Croatian Writers Association on 28 February onward, and affixed to it the label of mass movement [alluding to the Croatian "mass movement" of 1971].

Only about 100 people gathered at Hotel Panorama at the announced time yesterday, and Osijek lawyer Vladimir Seks, on behalf of the preparatory committee, read to them a protest statement against the ban of a public assembly. The people then dispersed. As we said above, the preparatory committee nevertheless met behind closed doors and proclaimed the founding of the Croatian Democratic Community. The program statement says among other things that the community has no intention of becoming a political organization, but a community of democratically-minded people.

The president of the Croatian Democratic Community is Professor Franjo Tudjman, and honorary presidents are writer Sime Balent and Academician Petar Segedin. Vice presidents are academician Dalibor Brozovic, academician Kresimir Balenovic, and lawyer Vladimir Seks. Writer Milivoj Slavicsek is president of the central committee, and Josip Manojlovic is president of the executive committee.

POLITIKA Discusses Equality of Languages
AU2806100689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
23 Jun 89 p 13

[Radoje Arsenic commentary: "Language as Stumbling Block"]

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Jun—Instead of being another bridge for the further linkage and rapprochement of two fraternal peoples on the territory of Croatia, the single language that these peoples speak is increasingly becoming a

mutual linguistic stumbling block. Why? Because the principle of the equality and parity of peoples, that has been stressed so many times, is failing to find a corresponding expression in the constitutional formulation of the name of the language that is used in this republic, which was clearly demonstrated at the session of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia which ended yesterday.

The result of the debate and voting on the "linguistic amendment" is well known—the initiative for changing the existing provision on the language did not receive support and the existing formulation remains until further notice, which means that "in the SR of Croatia, the Croatian literary language, the standard form of the national language of Croats and Serbs in Croatia which is called either Croatian or Serbian is in public use." The Constitutional Commission's proposal that "in the SR of Croatia the Croatian or the Serbian language, the standard form of the national language of the Croats and Serbs in Croatia which is called the Croatian literary language or the literary language of the Serbs in Croatia be used officially" did not succeed. The proposals according to which this language would be called Croato-Serbian or Serbo-Croatian received even less support.

In fact, the policy which was supported in this region by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia failed; the proposal of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia for a change to the existing constitutional provision which was adopted at one stage by this same Assembly failed; the assessment of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia was not accepted either. This is because, in the end, everything boils down to the fact that someone is obviously bothered that the official name of the language should include the name of both peoples (as is the case in the other three republics where the same language is spoken) or, more precisely, the name of the Serbian people. The equality of peoples is guaranteed by the Constitution. You can use your own language and call it what you want—in the street, at work, at home—but, "until further notice," in the constitutional formulation the language cannot bear the name of both peoples.

After this fact, how strange the words of Andjelko Runjic, Assembly president, sound when he spoke in his introductory speech about language "as an essential element of national identity and the culture of this equality of peoples and nationalities."

The fact is that no matter what the language is called, this will not change the material conditions of life in which we find ourselves, which was pointed out by some of the delegates who thought that it was necessary to devote more attention and energy to the constitutional provisions that concern socioeconomic relations. However, even though, according to them, the name of the language is not so important, the majority of delegates did not vote for the name that will bear the names of both peoples. Why? Certainly not because this question is not of existential importance.

The fact is, however, that unquestioningly guaranteeing the equality of peoples acquires unbelievable proportions when the possibility is not found of expressing this in the constitutional provision on language as well, along with the belief that this may be done when the constitution of the SR of Croatia is adopted. Will this cause the delegates to change their minds if all other arguments have failed so far?

The decision was made in the envisaged democratic way and there is no disputing this. Dispute arises over the fact that it was made with a national majority vote which raises a string of dilemmas and questions which we in this region have not been used to. This is because, to remind ourselves, the communes where a majority of Serbs live also voted for the "double-barreled" name of the language along with numerous organizations and organs from the whole republic. Considering this fact, the initial impression of all this could go like this: the equality of peoples yes, but only to the extent that we the majority allows it. Much open dialogue and many concrete steps will be needed to show that this is nevertheless not the case because otherwise one will not be able to speak seriously about any equality at all.